

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1901.

THE first year of the twentieth century is the fifteenth year in the existence of the *Classical Review*. Arrived at the age of maturity according to just classical standards, it would be wanting in piety if it deferred the acknowledgments due to its father and first editor Prof. J. B. Mayor, to its second parent Mr. G. E. Marindin and to its tutor Mr. Alfred Nutt: not forgetting the numerous friends and supporters, both British and American, without whose generous aid it must have died in infancy. All these it asks to join in its wish: *At tu, natalis, multos celebrande per annos, candidior semper candidiorque ueni.*

The publisher of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has asked us to state that the editing committee were in no way responsible for the English prospectus of the work, upon which some strictures were passed in the last issue of the *Classical Review*. We are glad also to hear that a revision of the prospectus is contemplated; and we take this opportunity of adding that subscribers to the *Thesaurus* may find it convenient to know that they can obtain temporary covers, specially designed for the purpose of preserving the current parts until ready for binding, for the moderate sum of two and a half marks each.

Hermathena has lost none of its old verve. The last number deals almost exclusively with matters of interest to Classical scholars. A special feature in its vigorous editing is the number of reviews, of which the majority are unsigned. The new series of Oxford texts comes in for a large share of attention, the texts of Aeschylus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Apollonius Rhodius

and Tacitus receiving more or less favourable notice. When the reviewers find fault, it is generally for excessive conservatism.

The thirtieth volume of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* includes two noticeable papers; an attack successful up to a certain point upon current views on 'the Origin of the Latin letters G and Z' by Prof. G. Hempl of Michigan, and one on 'the Scepticism and Fatalism of the Common People of Rome as illustrated by the Sepulchral Inscriptions' by Prof. A. G. Harkness of Brown University. We shall await with interest the promised second paper which is to show 'that Juvenal was right when he said (I. 149) that only children believed in the existence of the Manes.'

We have received from the compiler Mr. E. Cutler Shedd of the Lewis Academy, Wichita, Kansas, a booklet which embodies a useful idea. His 'Word Lists for Livy Books i., xxi., xxii., are arranged on the principle of relative frequency of occurrence. First come those words which occur over 100 times, in which list we find the seven verbs *ago, capio, do, facio, habeo, mitto* and *sum*, then those that occur over 75 times and so on. Information of this kind is not merely of considerable value to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of a vocabulary of a writer or a people with the greatest expedition but it furnishes linguistic and literary students with highly instructive data. It is a pity that Mr. Shedd has to a certain extent impaired the usefulness of his little book by including in it several unattested forms.

THE CLASSICAL REVIEW AND ANGLO-SAXON CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

THE foundation of the *Classical Review* at the beginning of the year 1887 was not the first or the sole indication of an increased interest in classical antiquity throughout the English-speaking world. In proof of this we may cite the inauguration of the Hellenic Society and the commencement of its *Journal* in 1880, and the establishment in the same year of the *American Journal of Philology* which from the first was freely opened to cis-Atlantic contributions. But these channels, even with the assistance of the long-established *Journal of Philology*, were not enough to carry off the new activities, as Professor Mayor and his coadjutors in the new undertaking rightly divined. The needs which this satisfied and the stimulus which it supplied may perhaps be best gathered from the following figures. The seven volumes of the *Journal of Philology* immediately preceding the date of its foundation contained contributions from some fifty-four English scholars, three or four of whom however wrote on subjects outside the range of classical Philology: to the first seven volumes of the *Classical Review* about 150 English scholars contributed.¹ It may, therefore, be fairly claimed that the hope expressed in the first editorial preface 'that the Review would turn wasted power to account by inducing some who are at present unproductive scholars to take a more active part in promoting the advancement of learning' has been more than fulfilled.

And if not all the anticipations of its founders have been realized and the *Classical Review* of to-day is in some respects different to what they desired and so if it may seem a not unnatural expression of surprise *amphora coepit institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?*, yet let it not be forgotten that the wheel is that of the blind goddess whom none can guide. And accordingly if for example it be thought, as indeed it is sometimes said, that the purging of classical texts occupies too much space in these columns, it should be remembered that the last few years have seen a Herondas, a lost Aristotle and a Bacchylides rescued from the dead and crying for the 'first aid' which was to salve the wounds of age and accident, and that if English scholarship has played a not wholly undistinguished part in rendering this help, the very possibility of its doing so is due to the *Classical Review*.

¹ Names of writers of reviews are not counted in this comparison.

It may well be asked whether this critical activity is a sign of general life or merely the effect of an unhealthy stimulation of a single part of the organism; or, to give the inquiry a wider scope, does the higher classical scholarship of the last fifteen years evince on the whole an advance on the period which preceded it? Without lapsing into optimism I think we may say that in the main it does. The vigour of our archaeological studies cannot be denied: the decipherment and interpretation of papyri is a new and growing department of research in which at the least we hold our own; in Greek and Latin philology in the narrower sense our scholars have not failed to secure recognition in the mother country of that study. History no doubt still languishes somewhat, as indeed has been the case since its remarkable activity in the middle of the century; but there are signs of a revival. But to pass from what the dilettante in classics might call special or technical branches, insufficiently worthy of the attention 'of a scholar and a gentleman,' may we not say that the intelligent appreciation of the literatures has made some noteworthy advance? I do not now refer to professed literary criticism, though here too recent years have given us work of which we may well be proud; but to its practical expression in translations of, and after, the ancient models. If we compare even an average translation of the present day with the bulk of those in Bohn's Standard Library, we see at once how great a change has been wrought by the movement of which the late Master of Balliol was the leading spirit. For this reformation we are indebted in the main to Oxford, though there were Cambridge scholars who early struck in with the movement and forwarded it substantially.² The full value of the reform those accustomed to it can hardly realize—at least not so keenly as one who learned for the first time in the lecture-room of the present Cambridge Professor of Greek, the vast difference which exists between a construe and a translation.

Nor has translation from English into Greek and Latin lagged far behind. The

² In the period with which I am comparing the present Cambridge was ever ready with a certain contempt for the inaccurate freedom of Oxford as Oxford for the stiff grammatical precision of Cambridge. But in the interval each has learned from the other; and accuracy is as much honoured at Oxford as style can be at Cambridge.

volumes of versions recently issued by the two Universities are generally admitted to mark a distinct advance upon their respective predecessors. They show no less spirit and more fidelity: a nicer appreciation of idiom and a more conscientious use of the file.

The source of this improvement must be sought in what is itself a hopeful sign—the improvement in editions, and especially in school editions, of the classics. So marked is this that it is sometimes doubted, and not without reason, whether for educational purposes they are not too good and tend by their very excellence to destroy independence of thought and to engender a groundless feeling of unquestioning security. If so, we may point with some relief to the wholesome corrective supplied by the prevalence of critical speculations in the *Classical Review*.

For this amelioration our thanks are chiefly due to the editors and publishers of the numerous Classical Series: the schools have the passive merit of adopting them. This (and here we have to turn to the darker side of our prospects) is, I fear, the only merit that the schools can claim. For the most part their directors remain still unconscious of their responsibilities and unafraid of the reckoning that must surely come—when the price will have to be paid for blind adherence to obsolete methods and inferior weapons. We know that in the fourfold rôle of hotel-keeper, policeman, patron of sports and educator which custom imposes (not without an adequate consideration) upon the headmaster of a public school, it is not unnatural that the interests of education should suffer; we know the crass ignorance and stolid complacency of 'the average British parent.' But if singly headmasters are too feeble to fight their fate, collectively they are strong enough, and may still hope to save an imperilled position if instead of discussions, whose outcome is but further disintegration, and resolutions, the last intention of which is to bind, they will take action in that thorough revision of the modes and materials of classical, and especially elementary classical, teaching which is so urgently needed. Though we of the Universities have a serious grievance against the schools in that they send so many to us mis-taught on elementary points and, what is worse, emptied of all desire to learn, we must not forget our own deficiencies. Academical studies are directed too much towards the literary side of antiquity and too little towards its real and tangible life. Our students are left practically without inducement

to think their own thoughts in either Greek or Latin while they are exercised continually in the far more difficult and, under the circumstances, often impossible task of reminting the coinages of modern thought into passable counterfeits of the antique. That most stimulating institution of Germany and America, the professorial *Seminar*, is still a rarity in our teaching. And what of the examinations—to speak of a feature of our educational system which has grown out of all reasonable proportions? It is enough to point to the spectacle of leaders of classical studies at both Universities devoting themselves to the task of maintaining obsolete or inventing temporary compromises between aims and aspirations which were never less easy to reconcile than at the present moment—those of science and those of culture—the thirst after knowledge in itself and the desire for intellectual gratification.

This survey of the past and the present, short and imperfect as it is, must not omit a reference to the country whose contributions have helped since 1889 to make our Review what it is. I trust that our American friends will excuse and supply the inevitable deficiencies of the notice. The Classical Scholarship of America is the daughter not of England but Germany: and England can view with no touch of maternal jealousy the great and rapid growth of the progeny.

Two features in this development at once arrest attention, the prosperity of its schools of archaeology whose active centres are Athens and Rome; and the increase in its output of classical publications. As at present America does not itself offer much encouragement to the pursuit of classical archaeology, those Americans who have devoted themselves to it abroad drift on their return into more literary and philological studies to the great advantage of these latter. The American translation of the *Schulkommentar* is becoming a thing of the past; the annotated edition which has supplanted it is no doubt too often marked by crudity and immaturity: but it shows at least a healthy independence. The increase in the number of academical publications, including monographs, is no less noteworthy: it promises to constitute ere long a veritable *embarras de richesse*.

American scholarship has always leaned towards syntax and in particular towards the statistics of syntax. These otherwise somewhat arid regions supply a crop of convenient subjects for investigation in the

Seminar and, provided the winnowing is intelligently done, of very useful ones. There is however a certain danger of excess. Principal B. J. Wheeler in a very suggestive address to the first meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific coast Dec. 30, 1899 says, 'The exaggerated attention paid to syntax at present in American class-rooms of Greek and Latin constitutes the severest menace to the usefulness and therefore to the continuance of classical study which now exists,' and again 'In the philological class-rooms of Germany and America pure literary study has been reduced dangerously near to a minimum... On every hand one marks the effort to establish aesthetic criteria by measuring and counting and classifying.'

Possibly Mr. Wheeler somewhat over-

states the evil. At any rate there are indications of counteracting tendencies, first in the recognition, which has been very plain in certain recent syntactical work, of the paramount importance of the context for determining the essential character of an idiom; and secondly in the growth of a school of refined and sympathetic interpretation, to which the *Nation* of Dec. 27, 1900 in a review of Prof. Smyth's Greek Melic Poets refers in words which may fitly close this article. 'Here is a book displaying an erudition and thoroughness which we usually call German, a lucidity, neatness, balance and judgment which we may fairly call French, associated with a breadth and delicacy of literary culture which we expect from Cambridge and Oxford.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE NATURE OF THE ANCIENT HOMERIC VULGATE.

I RETURN from the mediaeval text of Homer, its content and the manner of its formation, to the third century B.C. and the times of the Alexandrians. Here I wish to consider the ordinary or common text.

In a previous article (October, 1899) I endeavoured to find methods by which the readings of this text, so neglected in our sources,¹ might be recovered. I suggested that beside the thirty-one² cases in which the *κοινή* is distinctly mentioned, its reading was (I) the opposite of that offered by *ἅπανται*, *αἱ πλείους*, and other expressions for the majority, (IIa) the opposite of Aristarchus' reading where Aristarchus only is mentioned, or where the non-Aristarchean reading is attributed to *ἄλλοι*, *τινές*, etc., (IIb), the non-Aristarchean reading held by a single critic provided it is found in the

majority of our MSS. Experience since writing that article inclines me to put *ἄλλοι*, *τινές*, etc., on the level of the single individual, i.e. into class IIb, and to require MS. backing before I reckon their reading as the *κοινή*. With this alteration I maintain the rule.

The readings ascertainable as the result of these methods give us the *κοινή* as far as it can be recovered. Though a good deal has been written about the ancient vulgate, and Ludwig in his well-known book has vindicated its age, and though we have adequate accounts of the changes undergone by the early Homeric written text in general (e.g. in Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, p. 35 sqq.), no attempt has been made to represent the intrinsic character of the Vulgate. This I wish to consider here.

The total of readings which results from putting these rules into operation is over 600, far too great a number to be exhibited or discussed in a magazine-article. I will content myself with giving specimens from two books, and collecting classes of characteristics, premising explicitly that I nowhere aim at exhaustiveness, nor enter into greater detail than is necessary to permit of a general conclusion.

I mark the readings according to the classes given above; an asterisk implies an explicit statement in the scholia.

¹ We have, strictly speaking, no direct information about the Homeric text. The two grammarians on whom we mostly depend are entirely concerned with Aristarchus; one ascertains his readings, the other assigns meanings to his signs. The real text, from which Aristarchus differed, and to which his signs referred, did not interest them; moreover it was common property, in the hands of everyone. Aristarchus himself assumed it, dealt with it, scarred it with obeli, and imported endless readings into it, but rarely mentions it by name, and is never content with its authority. Therefore it is that our scholia are taken up with everything else but the *κοινή*, and our direct references to it are survivals of obiter dicta of commentators on Aristarchus.

² Really 32; I omitted T 189 in B.

<i>Vulgate.</i>	A	<i>Aristarchus.</i>
91 ἐνὶ στρατῷ	ἀχαιῶν (Zen. Aristoph. Sosig.)	I.
108 οὐδέ—οὐδ' ¹	οὔτε—οὔτ' (Aristoph.)	I.
117 σόον	σῶν	II. a
124 πω	που (Aristoph. Sosig.)	I.
142 ἐς	ἐν	II. a
157 σκιάοντα	σκιάωντα	II. a
168 ἐπὶν	ἐπεὶ	II. a
169 φθίην	φθίηνδ' (Zen.)	I.
203 ἴδης	ἴδῃ	II. a
204 τετελέσθαι	τελέεσθαι	II. a
241 τοῖς	τότε	II. a
258 βουλῇ	βουλῇν (ἢ πολύστιχος)	I.
298 μαχέσσομαι (Heracleo)	μαχήσσομαι (Mass. Argol. Sinop. Antim. Aristoph.)	I.
304 the same		
332 τε	τι (Cypria)	I.
350 οἶνοπα	ἀπείρονα	II. a
404 βίη	βίην	II. a
424 μετὰ (ἐνιοι)	κατὰ (Mass. Sinop. Cyp. Antim. Aristoph.)	I.
423 ἔποντο	ἔπονται (πάντες)	I.
432 ἐντὸς	ἐγγὺς	II. a
434 ὑφέντες (Zen.)	ἀφέντες	II. b
435 προέρυσσαν	προέρεσσαν (Argol. Sinop. Sosig.)	I.
447 κλειτήν	ἱερὴν	II. a
4 [^] μετὰ	κατὰ	II. a
522 μὴ σε	μὴ τι (πᾶσαι)	I.
524 ἐπινεύσομαι ¹	κατανεύσομαι	II. a
531 διέτμαγον	διέτμαγεν (πᾶσαι)	I.
553 οὐδέ—οὐδ' ¹	οὔτε—οὔτε (Rhian. Aristoph.)	I.
585 χερσὶ	χειρὶ (Mass. Sosig. Aristoph.)	I.
598 ψινοχόει	οἰνοχόει (Argol. Mass. Antim. Zen. Aristoph.)	I.

	Δ	
17 αὐτως (Aristoph.)	αὖ πως	II. b
148 τ'	δ'	II. a
170 μοῖραν	πότμον	*
205 ἴδης	ἴδῃ	II. a
213 εἶλκεν	ἔλκεν (αἱ πλείους)	I.
238 δ'	om. δ'	II. a
260 κρητῆρσι	κρητῆρι	II. a
277 ἰόντι ¹ (Zen.)	ἑόντι	II. b
319 κατέκτα	κατέκταν	II. a
321 ἱκάνει	ὀπάζει	II. a
333 θ'	θ' om.	II. a
400 ἀμείνω	ἀμείνων	II. a
426 ἰόν	ἰόν	II. a
456 φόβος	πόνος	II. a
527 ἐπεσσυμένον	ἀπεσσυμένον	II. a

This list of pairs of opposed readings—the vulgate on the one hand and the grammarians' preference on the other—deserves consideration. It will be seen that the difference is

of very various sorts, now of forms, now of entire words or phrases. I proceed to draw up classes of the former type of divergence between the *κουνή* and the eccentric editions.

¹ There is some doubt about the tradition.

1. The vulgate adds the augment to verbs :

ὄνοχοι = οἶνοχοί, A 598.
 ἔλκεν = ἔλκεν, Δ 213 al.
 ὀπλίζοντο = ὀπλίζοντο, Θ 55.
 εἰστήκει(ν) = ἐστήκει(ν), Ψ 691 al.
 ἤλπετο = ἔλπετο, P 603.
 ὑπεσεῖετο = ὑποσεῖετο, Ξ 285.
 ἐτέυκτο = τέυκτο, Ψ 455 ; Θ 163.
 ἀμφεφόβηθεν = ἀμφιφόβηθεν, Π 290.

2. The vulgate writes *ει* for *η* in these cases :

δαμείης = δαμήης, Γ 436.
 θείης = θήης, Z 432.
 θειοῖο = θηοῖο, Ω 418.
 περιστείωσ' = περιστήωσ', P 95.
 σαπίη = σπηή, T 27.
 φανείη = φανήη, X 73.
 καθίατο = καθήατο, Ω 473.
 ῥῆι = ῥῆη, E 64.
 πορφύρει = πορφήρη, Ξ 16.

3. The vulgate forms the future of μάχομαι in -εσσ- :

μαχέσσομαι = μαχήσομαι, A 298, 304 ; Γ 290 ;
 I 32.
 μαχεσόμεθ' = μαχησόμεθ', B 377.

4. The *κοινή* assimilates consonants :

πασυνδέη = πανσνδέη, B 12.
 ἀστήσων = ἀνστήσων, K 32, 176.
 ἄσχεο = ἄνσχεο, Ψ 587 ; Ω 518.
 ἀδδύεται = ἀνδύεται, N 22.
 ἀλλέξαι = ἀνλέξαι, Φ 321.

5. The *κοινή* contracts vowels :

πολεῖς = πολέας, Φ 131.
 ἀκληεῖς = ἀκλείες, M 318.
 νεμεσσηθώμεν = νεμεσσηθέωμεν, Ω 53.

6. The *κοινή* affects crasis :

κἄκείθι = καὶ κείθι, Γ 402.
 κἄκείνω = καὶ κείνω, O 45, 179 ; Π 648.

7. The *κοινή* prefers *α*-forms to *ε*-forms (aorist to imperfect, etc.) :

πέτατ' = πέτετ', X 198.
 ἐπεβήσατο = ἐπεβήσετο, K 513.
 ἐσαγείρατο = ἐσαγείρετο, O 240.
 ἀφυσσόμενοι = ἀφυσσόμενοι, Γ 295 ; K 579.
 ἀγασσόμενοι = ἀγασσόμενοι, H 41.
 πανάσθαι = πάνεσθαι, Γ 434.

8. The *κοινή* prefers the singular verb with neuter plurals :

φύγεν = φύγον, Θ 137 ; Δ 128.
 πέσεν = πέσον, O 714.
 φέρεν = φέρον, Ω 341.

9. The *κοινή* prefers optatives to subjunctives :

ἐθέλωμι = ἐθέλωμι, Θ 23 ; I 397.
 πεπιθόμεν = πεπιθώμεν, I 112.

10. The *κοινή* avoids apponent hiatus :

τ' αἰδρεῖη = τε ἰδρεῖη, H 198.
 ἐργ' εἰδνίας = ἐργα ἰδνίας, *passim*.

Other similar classes might be established, but the usage of the *κοινή* fluctuates in them, and in several even of the ten just given, occasional contradictory examples may be found. On the whole, however, these heads indicate the real nature and tendency of the *κοινή*. To characterise these ten classes means an incursion into the field of linguistic, which I make with becoming modesty. I imagine it may be safely said that the *κοινή*-forms are later in time than those of the editions and Aristarchus. *ἔλκεν* is later than *ἔλκεν*, *τεθνηώς* than *τεθνηώς*, *μαχέσσομαι* than *μαχήσομαι*, *ἐθέλωμι* than *ἐθέλωμι*, the singular verb with neuters plural than the plural verb, elision than the digamma, crasis than division, contracted than open vowels. We find, therefore, in the *κοινή* a tendency in the cases mentioned to assimilate the older forms and usages, which remained intact in all or most of the eccentric editions, to the later language. The *κοινή* underwent the influence of contemporary and Attic Greek in a way which the eccentric editions did not.¹

Several observations are to be made on this conclusion.

1. The statement covers but a part of the variants of the *κοινή*. The variants which come under the ten heads given above do not amount to more than 70-80, and allowing 20 for similar but less constant variations, the total will not be more than 100, that is less than one-sixth of the whole. The specimens from books A and Δ yield a smaller proportion, for out of 47 cases one can hardly find more than 6 or 7 which are due to the influence of current Greek. The remainder of the variants are substantial, and consist of words or phrases.

2. The tendency to assimilate the dialect of an author to later or current Greek is not peculiar to the Homeric vulgate. There are good grounds for supposing all pre-Attic writers to have been affected by it.

¹ And hence probably come the depreciatory epithets 'careless,' 'inferior,' *αἰ εἰκαιότεραι*, τὰ φανώτερη, which the grammarians apply to it. They do not imply an inferior source of text, but that the vulgate, or part of the vulgate, had not 'worn well.'

(I may refer to Fick's articles on the Lyric Poets in Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, vols. ix., xi. and elsewhere.) In the later world of scribes it is to be seen actively at work in the MSS., not only of Homer but of most other Greek authors. In the published Homeric material it may be studied most evidently in 'G' (Vindob. 39): this MS. substitutes the Attic for the Ionic, the prose for the poetical form in cases like *ταῖς* for *τῆς*, *ναυὶ* for *νηυσί*, 'Αθηνῶν or 'Αθηναίων for 'Αθηνεων, *πόλεως* for *πόλιος*, ἐληλυθώς for ἐλληλουθώς, *φύλακας* for *φυλακούς*, *μάρτυρες* for *μάρτυροι*, *γούνασι* for *γούνεσσι*.

On this account I think one is justified, in the case of the *κοινή*, in considering the tendency as unintentional; it is true that for one or another of the variants deliberate ancient authority may be found (Zenodotus approved of *μάρτυρες*, and Heraclion read *μαχέσσομαι*), but apart from the fact that even Zenodotus is long junior to the *κοινή*, it is not to be supposed that these variants are due to their bidding. The vulgarisations of the *κοινή* arise rather from its being the edition in constant use. Ex hypothesi it was continually copied, and continual copying brought with it the usual average of graphical variant. *Ναυὶ* for *νηυσί* was substituted not in obedience to the canon of a grammarian, but from the unconscious association of a copyist, and the larger variants in this province, *ῥνοχόει*, *σαπειή*, *πασσυνδίη*, *κάκείνος*, which were not considered errors but substantive variae lectiones, are also the work of the scriptorium. They represent the standard of the publishing-office at a given moment, and the history of the changes in spelling of the Authorised Version, the Book of Common Prayer, Shakespeare, Milton and our other classics in English, is a sufficiently exact parallel. The changes in the spelling of the Bible from generation to generation have been the work not of the antiquary or the scholar, but of the Queen's Printers. They have not dislodged whole words, but they have assimilated and modernised spelling.¹ The variants in which the *κοινή* shews a specifically later text than that of the eccentric editions are due to causes similar in kind.²

These formal variants, as I have said, cover about one-sixth of the total differences in the *κοινή*. The remainder do not share the character of lateness which these possess. They are *prima facie* as old and as original

as their opposites. In the specimens given from A and Δ, ἐνὶ στρατῷ, σόον, σκίοεντα, οἶνοπα, προέρυσσαν, κλειτῇν, χερσί, μοῖραν, κρητῆρσι, ἰκάνει do not carry the traces of degeneration from ἀχαιῶν, σῶν, σκίοωντα, ἀπείρονα, προέρεσσαν, ἱερῇν, χερί, πότμον, κρητῆρι, δπάζει. The intrinsic superiority, where such exists, of one member of each pair over the other, must be decided by special investigation. It is impossible to say, as we may of the formal variants, that the readings of the *κοινή* are later than, or are derived from, their opposites in the eccentric editions. In five-sixths of the ancient vulgate readings are presented as old, and *prima facie* as intrinsically good as those of the eccentric editions; in the remaining sixth the vulgate has suffered an external modernisation.

Ludwich has shewn the vulgate to be attested by the quotations as far back as the former half of the fifth century: are we to take it some generations farther, and say that Pisistratus established it, in other words that ἡ *κοινή* = ἡ Πεισιστράτειος?

The question of the truth of the tradition which made Pisistratus order an edition of Homer has been fully and recently discussed.³ The investigation has been somewhat at cross purposes. Lehrs treated the subject with elegant derision, Wilamowitz emphasised and interpreted the testimony of Dieuchidas (suggested indeed long before by Ritschl) but with some perversity declined to believe in the substantiality of the tradition; Ludwich, while combating Wilamowitz's arguments step by step, arrives at the same conclusion, a result repeated in his book on the Homeric Vulgate and singular in one who has done so much to assert the claims of the Lower Criticism and written historical evidence. Cauer treats the matter with his usual judgment, but Ritschl's treatise, some few details apart, contains as acceptable an account as any.

It is unnecessary for me to state the arguments or to take a decided position. The essential is already won, the age, the character, and the authority of the *κοινή*: Pisistratus, Solon, Hipparchus are but figure-heads, and mostly indifferent to the Lower Criticism. However, if Solon or

¹ The same comparison — with printed German classics — has been made by Cauer, *l.c.* p. 35.

² One particular case of which was recognised by the ancients, who called it μεταχαρκτηρισμός.

³ Wolf, *Prol.* p. cxlii. sq.; Ritschl, *Opuscula*, i. 1, sq. (1838); Lehrs *Aristarchus*, p. 434, sq. (1862); Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, 235, sq. (1884); Flach, *Pisistratos und seine literarische Thätigkeit* (1885); Ludwich, *Aristarchs Hom. Textkritik*, ii. 390 sq. (1885); Cauer, *Grundfragen d. Homerkritik*, 80 sq. (1896).

Pisistratus did establish any text of Homer, that text can have been no other than the *κουνή*, and however inferior the direct evidence for their achievement may be, we have the only real proof that can be given *in tali materia*, agreement with later conditions. If Pisistratus were the reputed father of the *κουνή* it is natural that we find no mention of him in the scholia. The grammarians ignore the *κουνή*, because it was in everyone's hands and because it had suffered by transmission; they *a fortiori* ignored also its author; they may, or they may not, have disbelieved the tradition which gave Pisistratus that title. It is more important to realise that the same account explains the absence of reference to an Athenian edition, Ἀττικὴ ἐκδοσις. We are informed explicitly that Aristarchus thought Homer an Athenian; the Attic edition to him therefore was not one among the *κατὰ πόλεις*, but the *κουνή* itself. In his silence with regard to the *κουνή* is included silence upon its origin and its putative author.¹ While therefore I do not find it necessary to assert the authenticity of the Pisistratean legend, I find that it agrees with all the conditions, and that the omission to notice it in the scholia is no impediment to its probability.

Here I might stop, but a line which has been used by both sides to support their views may be better for impartial discussion.

B 557

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

¹ This is only Ritschl's account (*l.c.* p. 50) in other words: 'Fragt man nun, wie es zugehe, dass auch dieses Textes in der Alexandrinischen Kritik angeblich so selten Erwähnung geschehe, so ist die Behauptung, seiner kritischen Unsicherheit halber sei er keiner sonderlichen Beachtung gewürdigt worden, ein so unbestimmter als willkürlicher Nothbehelf. Vielmehr bildet sich, wenn man sich nach den erhaltenen Andeutungen die kritische Thätigkeit der Alexandriner zu vergegenwärtigen sucht, sofort die Ueberzeugung, dass diese, mitten unter einem reichen Vorrathe abweichender Ueberlieferungen, von irgend einer Grundlage ausgingen, die ihnen als das Gegebene galt, was durch vergleichende Zuziehung anderer Autoritäten zwar im einzelnen vielfach modificirt werden konnte, für die Anordnung im Ganzen aber als feste Norm betrachtet wurde. Diese Unterlage ihres kritischen Geschäftes war aber, den klarlichsten Anzeigen zufolge, keine andere als der Pisistrateische Text, der gleichsam die Vulgata geworden war. Die Nothwendigkeit stets wiederholter namentlicher Anführung würde nun schon dadurch wegfallen, dass eben jenes Verhältniss die allgemeine Voraussetzung war, worauf alle Ausübung Homerischer Kritik beruhte, und worüber eine ausdrückliche Verständigung niemand begehrte oder nöthig hatte.'

The second line it is well known is stated by various late authorities to have been inserted by Solon or Pisistratus. The data are as follows. It stands in all known MSS. with the exception of seventeen—the families *b g h*, the Venetus A and several other single minuscule MSS. and apparently the papyrus Bodl. Gr. class. a. 1 (P) s. iv.-v. (Petrie Hawara &c. 1889 p. 24-8). There is no scholion on the line in A, T omits the whole of the catalogue, in B and L (on B 494 and 557) the legend (with Solon's name) is repeated. The line however is alluded to in the A scholia on Γ 230: ὅτι πλησίον ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ἐτάσσετο κατὰ τὴν ἐπιπόλησιν συμφώνως, παραιτητέον ἄρα ἐκείνων τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον, στήσε δ' ἄγων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον Αἴαντος Ἀθηναῖοι. The questions which have been asked, and differently answered, on this evidence, are (1) what did Aristarchus exactly do with regard to the line, (2) was it in the *κουνή* or no?

Wilamowitz for instance considers the line a proof that Aristarchus knew and believed the legend about Pisistratus: and that on this ground he ejected the line and it is consequently wanting in many MSS. Ludwig, naturally, knows that Aristarchus' operations did not affect the text of Homer, but both he and Cauer think the line was not in the vulgate: the former thinks the whole story about Pisistratus a fable, the latter believes that Pisistratus did introduce the line but that his interpolation did not take effect.

(1) The word *παραιτεῖν* in the scholion on Γ 230 is of itself vague: its usage in scholastic Greek rests on two passages (which I find in Ludwig's index). K 1 (on ἄλλοι) *παραιτητέον τοὺς γράφοντας ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ζηνόδοτος ἄλλοι μὲν*. He 'deprecates' Zen.'s reading. A 365 is a better parallel: ὅτι παλιλλογεῖν παρήτηται ἄλλοτριοι ἄρα οἱ ἐπιγραφόμενοι στίχοι εἰκοσι ἐπτά. The obeli are appiet to vv. 366-393. In the version of this scholion in B we find οἱ δὲ ἀθετοῦντες τοὺς στίχους οὐκ ἐῷσι μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅθεν ἤλω χρυσῆς. It is a case of ordinary *a priori* athetesis, and *παραιτεῖν* = *ἀθετεῖν*. The case of B 558 appears similar; it is a line, not a reading, and the ground for the censure is also intrinsic, viz., the contradiction of other passages (Δ 273, 327, N 681 given by Strabo 394). We miss the evidence of the obelus, since the line is omitted in Ven. A, and apparently in the papyrus, but the probability seems considerable that athetesis is meant. The expression would be excessively mild for an

οὐκ ἔγραφε (besides that there are not more than three instances where Ar. is said to have had recourse to this extreme step).

(2) The second question, did the verse stand in the *κοινή*? is closely connected with this. The phrase τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον, suggests perhaps at first sight that Aristarchus is combating the reading of an individual which was not generally received. In reality, however, it is the language of athetesis, by which Ar. conveys his view as to the sources of the *κοινή*. Cf. A 474 ἀθ. ὅτι νομίσας τις τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Παιῶνα εἰρῆσθαι προσέθηκεν αὐτό. B 319 ἀθ. προείρηται δὲ ἡ αἰτία (sc. 318 ὅτι Ζηρόδοτος γράφει ἀριδῆλον καὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον προσέθηκεν), ib. 668 σεσημείωται πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς ἀθετούμενον οὐ γὰρ νοήσας τις ὅτι τὸ σημαϊνόμενον τοιοῦτόν ἐστι...ἐξήγησεν ὑπὸ τίνος ἐφιλήθησαν διὸ προσέθηκε τὸν ἐκ διός. E 183 ἀθ. ὅτι δεξιμένους τις εἰ μὴ τις θεός ἐστιν ὃ ἐναντιούμενος ἐνέγραψεν αὐτόν. I 416 ἀθ. ὅτι νομίσας τις κρέμασθαι τὸν λόγον προσέθηκεν αὐτόν. N 658, 9 ἀθ. ὅτι πλανηθεὶς τις...ἔταξεν αὐτούς. H 353 ὅτι τις...προσανεπλήρωσεν. (Cf. also Π 97, Σ 444, Υ 256, Φ 570, Ω 45, 130).¹ The wording of these passages is at least as personal as that of the note on Γ 230; we are therefore not to see any reference to the Pisistratus legend in the ὑπὸ τινων; Aristarchus athetised as he everywhere does, on intrinsic grounds.

There are of course references in the scholia to lines certainly not in the ordinary text; but the formulas are different (ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται, ὑποτάσσουσιν ἐνταῦθα in A, ὅτι τινες ἐπάγουσι in T), and also the MSS. shew no trace of them. B 558 stands in the bulk of the MSS. and is alluded to in the

¹ The tone of these passages—dissatisfaction with the *κοινή* as an authority, and search for some personal source beyond it—may temper our surprise at one extraordinary scholion. Γ 406 (ἀπέειπε κελεύθους) Ἀριστάρχος ἀπέειπε διὰ τοῦ κ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ κελεύθους. θαυμάσειε δ' ἐν τις ἡ ἑτέρα διὰ τοῦ π πόθεν παρέδω. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστάρχειοις οὔτε ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τῶν γούν μετρίων ἐμφερόμενον πέφυκεν. (Ἀπέειπε κελεύθους codd.) A true grammarian's utterance, whether it is Aristarchus or Didymus that speaks. No 'decent' edition had the reading, and the grammarian cannot think how it 'got in' to the *κοινή*. It was always there. The other reading started in some eccentric edition, and all the μέτριοι, Antimachus, Euripides, Philetas, Rhianus, *vrais moutons de Panurge*, copied it.

Similarly A 97 the grammarian will not rest with the vulgate as the authority for the anti-Aristarchean reading: he will 'give it a name,' *ἔσκειν οὖν ἡ ἑτέρα Ζηρόδοτον εἶναι*. A 455 Didymus makes a shot at schoolmasters, *γραμματισταί*, as the originators of the vulgate: T 269-273 he divines sophists behind the text. Γ 18 he expresses simple surprise that the reading, not Aristarchus', has merits: *ἔχει δὲ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν χαρακτήρα καὶ ἡ σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ γραφή, καίπερ οὐκ οὕσα Ἀριστάρχειος*.

formula of athetesis. I therefore conclude that in Aristarchus' day it was part of the vulgate.²

The line, however, is actually wanting in the MSS. I have mentioned, and Quintilian (v. 11, 40) notices its absence from some texts: *neque est ignobile exemplum Megarios ab Atheniensibus cum de Salamine contendere victos Homeri versu, qui tamen ipse non in omni editione reperitur, significans Aiacem naves suas Atheniensibus iunxisse*. (Strabo 394, when he says οὐ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς seems to use a fuller version of the note on Γ 230 or on the line itself.) This is not due to Aristarchus' athetesis: Aristarchus' athetesis consisted in the affixing of a sign to the particular line and its effect stopped there. This, as I have mentioned, Ludwich, *l. c.* p. 398, makes good against Wilamowitz: I add the figures. 366 lines are athetised by Aristarchus, 8 are omitted by our MSS. (6 in single MSS., one in two, one in a quotation). The probability that B 558 is omitted in some MSS. on account of Aristarchus' athetesis is nil.

I presume its omission is really owing to the effect of the legend, reduced to such a form as that in which we find it in the B scholia: (*γράφει δὲ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος λόγον, ὥς τινες, παραλόγως, τὸ ὕν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρῆτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ποιήσει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκολουθία οὕτως, οἱ δ' Ἄργος εἶχον*). There were a certain number of omissions, as of variants, within the *κοινή* in antiquity: this was one of them. I think therefore that Aristarchus athetised the line on intrinsic grounds: and that no conclusion can be drawn from his action as to whether he believed the legend, either that Pisistratus inserted this particular line, or that he made an edition of Homer generally.

I conclude that the ancient vulgate, though it suffered from the natural conditions of transmission in spelling, dialect and syntax, appears as to the bulk of its text at least the equal in age and goodness of the only other existent authority, the eccentric editions. The quotations carry it back into the fifth century, and it is a question of merely historical interest whether the name of the legendary Athenian Ptolemy should be attached to it.

The enquiry proceeds to the non-vulgate or eccentric editions. T. W. ALLEN.

² The story also as believed in antiquity implies that the line was usually if not always read, no less than the other lines which schol. B quotes (836, 868: schol. on B 494) as having decided similar political cases.

ON PINDAR'S OLYMPIAN ODES.

Ol. 1, 62-4 [the numbering of Gildersleeve's edition for Olympians and Pythians has been followed in this paper: *i.e.* of course, the left hand (Böckh's) numeration].

νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε
δῶκεν, οἷσιν ἀφθιτον
ἔθεσαν.

The antistrophic verse (75) demands a trochee at the beginning of 64. 'It is better to admit a tribrach [*ἔθεσαν εἰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*] than to accept the MS. *θέσαν*, or Mommsen's *θέν νιν*, although we miss an object.' So Gildersleeve. But according to the most recent edition of Pindar, that of Otto Schröder in Teubner's series—which, though apparently a fifth edition of Bergk's work on Pindar completed under Schröder's guidance, is virtually independent of Bergk's influence—the *optimi libri* have *θέσαν αὐτὸν*, while *θέσαν αὐτὸν* is only given by *pars Thomm(anorum)*, *i.e.* of the interpolated codices influenced by Thomas Magister.

θήκαν has the support of Rauchenstein: Comm. Pind. II. 11. According to Rumpel's Lexicon, however, we have no instance of this form. The ordinary alternation of *ἔθηκα*: *ἔθεμεν* is observed throughout: *θηκάμενος* is not enough as evidence that Pindar could violate in *this* verb the settled prerogatives of strong and weak Aorist forms: while to my ear at least *θήκαν* after *δῶκεν* (v. 63) is unpleasantly cacophonous. This is intensified by the form *προθήκαν*, v. 65, as Schneidewin saw.

The other suggestions may be seen in Schröder's note to the passage. Remembering that the number of uncial corruptions in the MSS. of Pindar is considerable, a state of affairs which the papyrus of Bacchylides has more recently illustrated, I propose a reading which seems to satisfy the conditions of the problem at least as well as any already put forward: viz.

οἷσιν ἀφθιτόν F'
ἔσαν.

F for Fc has disappeared from view in the text *für sich*: but *αὐτὸν* faithfully represents it. Similar subsidence of this pronoun is familiar in the text of Homer, but without the gloss. *ἔσαν* from *ἔζω = κτίζω* may be supported by *ἔσαντο* in Pyth. 4, 204, where the explanation of the scholiast is *ἐκτίσαν*.

Finally, the passage Pyth. 9, 63, which is at first sight parallel and in favour of some

form of *τίθημι*, when examined is seen to be different:

νέκταρ ἐν χεῖλεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίαν στάξουσιν,
θήσονται τέ νιν ἀθάνατον κ.τ.λ.

There *θήσονται* is to be taken in the sense of 'give him a name,' familiar in tragedy. It may have been a false interpretation of that passage, however, which led Ahrens to propose the ridiculous reading *θήσαν* (*lactabant*) in Ol. 1. 64.

Ol. i. 103 *sqq.*

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μή τιν' ἀμφοτέρα καλὼν τε Φίδριν ἄμμε καὶ
δύναμιν κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνον πτυχαῖς.

ἄμμε is a correction for metrical reasons of the MSS. *ἄμα*. In support of it may be cited the corruption of *ἄμμε* to *ἄμα* at Ol. 9, 106. Sch. Vet. has *πέπεισμαι ἀκριβῶς μηδένα μ' ἔτι φίλον τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκωμιάσαι*: where the aorist Inf., probably a mere mistake for *ἐγκωμιάσιν* as so often, gives no support to Mommsen's view that *δαιδαλωσέμεν* is aorist; nor again is *ἄμμε* supported by the previous words of the Scholiast. It is not at all probable that Pindar should after the emphatic *ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι* κείνον of v. 100 with its correspondence in prominence of the singer and the king, weaken his claims on his patron by sharing them in the next clause with the whole chorus.

There is yet another word confused in the MSS. of Pindar with *ἄμα*, viz. *ἀμφί*. See Nem. 9, 52, where the reverse corruption of *ἄμα* to *ἀμφί* points to the form *ἀμᾶ* (AMA) to AMΦI) on which cf. Schröder's introduction, p. 37. *ἴδριν ἀμφί καλῶν*¹ for the more familiar *ἴδριν καλῶν* is not unlike the use in Ol. 12, 8 *σύμβολον—πιστὸν ἀμφί πράξις ἰσοσμένας εἶρε θεόθεν*, where to our grammatical sense *ἀμφί* would be better absent, and in a prose author would probably have succumbed to the knife of a physician of Cobet's school. The uses of *ἀμφί*, evidently a favourite with Pindar, can be most conveniently studied in Rumpel: the present passage is not as striking in its divergence from the noun as many where the dat. occurs.

This leads me to speak of Ol. 1, 113 where a syllable is wanted to complete antistrophic

¹ I find that Maur. Schmidt has conjectured *ἀμφί* already: but he couples *ἀμφί καὶ δύναμει* (which he reads for *δύναμιν*).

correspondence at the beginning of the line. It seems to me that Schröder is right in reading ἀμφ' ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, not ἐπ' ἄλλοισι of the *codices interpolati*. He compares οὐα δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισι Nem. 2, 17, and τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ πόνοις ὑπερώτατα Nem. 8, 4: also the paraphrase of ἀμφὶ by ἐπὶ at Ol. 9, 14 may be used, in case ἐπὶ is as Schröder thinks a genuine mark of antiquity and not as I prefer to believe itself an interpolation. Here again the form AMAI is to be posited as the preliminary stage of the corruption: the similarity of AMAI to AAA[O]ICI then led to the disappearance of the preposition. The faintness of meaning inherent in ἀμφὶ furthered this: contrast Ol. 7, 80 κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισι with Pyth. 4, 253 ἐνθα καὶ γυνὼν ἀέθλοισι ἐπέδειξαντο κρίσιν ἐσθῆτος ἀμφίς. Here the only change needed is the restoration of the active ἐπέδειξαν: cf. Nem. 11, 14 ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστέων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν. Κρίσιν before Ἐσθῆτος presents no difficulty, and the word is not at all likely to be due to a corrector of e.g. *Fiv'*, of Kayser, Christ, and Gildersleeve. I would only suggest, comparing Ol. 3, 21 μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν, that we should interchange the terminations of γυνὼν and ἀέθλοισι, a common resource of criticism and one well justified by facts.¹ Then too I find some plausibility in the belief that γυνὼν came in through a misunderstanding of the force of ἐπέδειξαν (really = παρίσχω) which is faithfully mirrored in the middle. From this point of view I think Kayser's ἐπέδειξαντο *Fiv'* represents well enough the conception of the passage formed by ancient critics. Thus Sch. ἐπέδειξαντο τῶν μελῶν τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν (i.e. probably τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. Compare for the use of καὶ = *id est*, *Lehrs'* Pindar-Scholien). Before dismissing Pyth. 4, 253 on which I may now say,

*Ὡ ρ' ὦ φίλοι κατ' ἀμυνσίπορον τριόδον
ἐδνήθην
ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τόπριν,

I should like to remark that ἐσθῆτος ἀμφίς most probably means according to one view of the Scholiast τῆς ἐσθῆτος χωρὶς, *τοντέστι γυμνοί*. There is clear point in mentioning this, for it was only possible in certain places e.g. Doric states, for the presence of women to be permitted in spite of the lack of the διάζωμα. Now Ol. 4, 24 shews that

garlands were given to the victors on this particular occasion. That 'clothing' of any kind was a prize in addition is a mere unsupported inference of the Scholiast: ἡ τὸ ἔπαθλον ἐσθῆς. We are plainly not at liberty to compare the ψυχρὰν εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αἰρᾶν of Ol. 9, 104 (1) because this was an institution peculiar to Pellene, and (2) because there was a special reason for the institution of a prize so bizarre, viz. that the games at Pellene were held *in winter*. (Sch. ad loc. ἐν Πελλήνῃ χλαῖν' ἐδίδοδο τῷ νικῶντι χειμῶνος ὥρα). But there is another passage which throws some light on Pindar's intention when he emphasizes this point, that the competitors were naked. Pyth. 9, 115 *sqq.* shews that girls even were allowed to be present at the games in Cyrene, as one of the institutions perhaps of the Ὑλλίς στάθμα (Pyth. 1, 62). One of the Argonauts who competed in the games at Lemnos before Lemnian women was the ancestor of the kings of Cyrene (v. Pyth. 4 *passim*). It is clear to me that Pindar is finding mythological support for the custom as practised at Cyrene, of admitting women. Taken this way the words ἐσθῆτος ἀμφίς bear (to the *συμετοί*) a clear sign of Pindar's manner. Aesthetical criticism is dangerous in these odes; but the thought of the Argonauts racing one another for overcoats is a decided fall below the epic dignity of Pyth. 4. At Pellene the prize was probably regarded as a piece of comicality.

I have in the foregoing laid no stress on the entire absence of proof that ἀμφίς ever did equal ἀμφί. Rumpel cites no other example of the word in Pindar, nor can I find any evidence elsewhere of the assumed meaning. Thus to Dissen's 'ἀμφίς pr. seorsim non dixit Pindarus' the *tu quoque* 'ἀμφίς pr. ἀμφί non dixit Pindarus aliusque quisquam' is too tempting to be avoided.

Ol. 2, 65. The peculiar reading ταμίους of BD² for τιμίους in the strange phrase παρὰ μὲν τιμίους θεῶν is not enough to build conjectures upon. It probably is a mere variant spelling of τιμίους, i.e. ταμίους, as we see by comparing κρασόνων, D's reading at N. 10, 72 for κρείσσ(σ)όνων. Written in ligature ϵ_1 as ϵ_0 (ϵ_1 and ϵ_0) were often confused with δ . The latter confusion is better known, and has been treated by Cobet: an example in Pindar is at Ol. 2, 90 where A has εὔμαχον for ἀμαχον.

Ol. 2, 86 *sqq.* In attempting to say anything new on this passage, I fear I am aspiring Ζεὺς γενέσθαι. But it seems to me that a correction of three letters will restore an intelligible construction to these verses.

¹ Cf. Agamemnon 649, Dindorf: χειμῶν' Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν ('Αχαιοὶ -θεοὶ M.).

σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φησὶ
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρεύετον
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

We are met at the outstart by a cloud of witness: γαρεύετον *libri c. Scholl. et testimonii* (Aristid. ii, 34 D, Theophyl. Bulg. Epp. 6 p. 12 Meurs., Greg. Cor. p. 218) *omnibus*. So Schröder. The use of the dual for the plural is not tolerable, as Gildersleeve rightly says. In the theories which introduce now Simonides and Bacchylides, now Corax and Teisias as Pindar's rivals, I for one can put no belief. But with a reading of such antiquity as γαρεύετον, and with such persistence in the MS. tradition, the ordinary methods of criticism are not likely to lead us to a definite conclusion. We can alter the text as we please, but we cannot explain how, in our opinion, the corrupt reading found its way into the text. All I aim at is to shew that there was once a variant reading, with all the marks of genuineness. In Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo* (the passage and reference, p. 42, 17 Hbg., I take from Schröder) we find these words: κόραξ, μᾶλλον δὲ κολοῖος, ἄκραντα γαρνύμενος Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον. Schröder says merely *non refragatur*, i.e., *lectioni γαρεύετον*. But surely the Middle γαρνύμενος in a prose writer ought to be clear evidence that the quotation is following very closely the words of the original. The participle in Simplicius is required by the turn of the sentence: restoring the indicative, we light upon γαρεύεται which Tycho Mommsen had already adopted, accepting the construction as *Schema Pindaricum*. Now we cannot argue that γαρεύεται if original was replaced by γαρεύετον in order to get rid of this *Schema*, for the construction is a favourite with the old interpreters, as even a casual survey of the Scholia will shew. Why then was γαρεύεται not kept? I can suggest two reasons: (1) The use of the Present Middle may have seemed impossible to a scribe familiar with the frequent active form. The case of the Future at Isth. 1, 34, where we have γαρύσομαι without any variant is different, on account of the common occurrence of Future Middle with words of hearing, seeing, &c., while αἰδῶ but αἰέσομαι may have exercised an influence. This analogy indeed is recognised by Gildersleeve as an agent in the formation of γαρύσομαι (Introduction p. cii.: he cites the list in Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* p. 383).

(2) There may have been a misreading

of the abbreviation for the termination—τα as—τον.¹

This may be thought mere speculation; but what are we to make of the rest of Simplicius' quotation? The use of the singular in κόραξ μᾶλλον δὲ κολοῖος is very remarkable, considering the unanimity of ancient scholars in regarding the enemies of the eagle as a *flock* of crows, or as Simplicius would prefer, jackdaws, the noisier bird (cf. κολῳός in Homer). This indeed is at first sight the intention of the poet.

The picture of 'the eagle (Pindar) sitting quiet and disdainful on the sceptre of Zeus,' seems to gain by contrast with the numbers of his ineffective assailants: cf. *Soph. Aias* v. 171, of the lesser birds in the presence of the μέγας αἰγυπῖος. Yet the custom of poets varies. Thus Theocritus can in contrasting similarly rival claimants to poetic merit say (7, 41)

βατραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὡς τις ἐρίσδω.

So Vergil with his *Argutos inter strepere anser olores* (*Ecl.* 9, 36). If then both these varieties can exist, we may expect to find cases where only *one* of *each* class is used to point the contrast.² What if we have such a case before us? A slight correction must then be made: for κόρακες read κόρακος, a side-form to κόραξ as φύλακος to φύλαξ cett. The construction is then seen to be μαθόντες δὲ... (γαρεύονται) ὡς κόραξ γαρεύεται, and another of the examples of *Schema Pindaricum* disappears. I speak of course with reference to the reading γαρεύεται not γαρεύετον: assuming, however, that the existence of the reading γαρεύεται is proved from Simplicius we must bear in mind the results which an apparent example so early in the collected poems would have on the criticism of following passages. I have little doubt that such readings as ἀρχαὶ for ἀρχά, *Ol.* 11 (10), 6, (where see Gildersleeve's note) are largely due to the syntactical irregularity which the passage under consideration presented even while γαρεύεται was still read; the corruption

¹ Cf. the reading of B in 91-2 πανόσας αὐδάσομεν for αὐδάσομαι; also of Codex D at Isth. 1, 15 καὶ ταὶν for καὶ τὰ: that is, the abbreviation for ον, ν, has been wrongly ad-led. I do not lay stress on the frequent corruption of neuter adjectives used adverbially from pl. into sg. as at Pyth. 10, 63: it may be due to other causes.

² Cf. Fulgentius, *Mythology*, i. 13: *corvus secundum Pindarum solus inter omnes aves sexaginta quatuor significationes habet vocum*. This is put as *Frag.* 285 (with a query) in Schröder. The conjecture of Welcker that *Ol.* 13, 99 is referred to (by a corruption of κάρκος to κόρακος) is very wild. I see no reason to suppose Fulg. to be mistaken.

of *κόρακος* to *κόρακες* removed the only means by which the construction could be maintained as regular. It is certainly a remarkable fact that in the first case where *Schema Pindaricum* could be assumed (with the reading *γαρύεται*) there should now be no trace in the Scholl. of its being invoked as a *θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. This can only be due to a very early corruption of *γαρύεται*, on the lines suggested above. I should not consider as equally probable a suggestion to which Bergk's reading *γαρύετον*, '*garriant licet*,' might give birth: viz., that *γαρύετον* came from the imperative (with which Schröder compares *ἴτων* for *ἰόντων*, Aesch. Eum. 32) by the depravity of the *μεταγραφάμενοι* (see Christ on these passages: Ol. 6, 97; 14, 12. Pyth. 1, 69; 3, 60. Nem. 1, 24; 7, 83. Isth. 1, 26).

Ol. 2, 107-8: said of *κόρος*:

τὸ λαλαγήσαι θέλων κρύφον τε θέμεν ἰσλῶν
καλοῖς
ἔργοις: ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφενγεν
ἐκείνος ὅσα χάσματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,
τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο;

We should certainly read *καὶ κείνος* with Mommsen for *ἐκείνος* in v. 99. *ἐπεὶ* is used merely to introduce a new aspect of Hiero's generosity, and affects equally all that follows: cf. Nem. 4, 31. *ἀπειρομάχας ἑὸν κε φανείη λόγον ὃ μὴ συνιεί: ἐπεὶ ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν*. The Paratactic construction is frequent in Pindar: a notable instance is Ol. 10, 11. *sqq.* (where the doubt as to the reading does not touch the point at issue). The MSS. of the better class have *κάκείνος*, the *interpolati* present *ἐκείνος*. I am not quite satisfied however with the construction *κρύφον θέμεν ἔργοις* though adopting in the main the necessary corrections of Aristarchus. The verb should I think be *ἐπιτιθέναι* not the simple *τιθέναι*: cf. the adjective *ἐπίκρυφος* which Pindar uses at Ol. 8, 68. Kaibel has proposed *ἔργοις ἔπ'*. *εἰ ψάμμος κ.τ.λ.* which is very harsh, though the use of *εἰ* is idiomatic: cf. Ol. 1, 77, Nem. 7, 86. It would be preferable to read *ἔργοις ἐπιψάμμος κ.τ.λ.* with Asyndeton. Dissen has an *excursus* (II) in his edition on the subject of Asyndeton where instances can easily be found of the abrupt manner in which Pindar turns to a fresh topic. The end of an ode is frequently marked by Asyndeton: cf. Ol. 3 and 13. For the Anastrophe of *ἐπὶ* cf. *χαίταισι ζευχθέντες ἐπὶ στέφανοι* Ol. 3, 6: also P. 5, 124. *δόμεν - ἐπὶ = ἐπιδόουνα*. At Bacchyl. 7, 8. Blass prints *νείμης ἐπὶ* for *ἐπινείμης*.

Ol. 8, 54, *sq.*

εἰ δ' ἐγὼ Μελησία ἐξ ἀγενείων κῆδος ἀνδρά-
μον ὕμῳ
μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος.

κῆδος ἐξ ἀγενείων is often taken to mean 'glory derived from beardless youths.' But comparing the phrases *κῆδος ἀνδρῶν* Ol. 9, 88, and, for the use of the preposition, *κῆδος ἐξ ἀμφικτύων* Pyth. 4, 66, we ought more probably to take the phrase as 'glory won at the expense of beardless youths.'¹ So in Latin *triumphare de aliquo*. This has the advantage of making *ταύταν χάριν* below somewhat easier. This is usually paraphrased by *τοιάντην*, 'the same kind of honour as Alcimedon': as however Alcimedon himself won against *ἀγένοιοι*, we have to separate *ταύταν χάριν* decisively from *ἐξ ἀγενείων κῆδος* lest a wrong (*ex hypothesi*) meaning of the latter phrase should be suggested. It is preferable to assume a meaning for v. 54 which will lead more naturally up to what follows. *ταύταν χάριν* then means 'the same kind of victory' viz. over *ἀγένοιοι*, referring back to v. 54. We could also take v. 54 to mean 'a victory won in the past by Melesias.' *ταύταν χάριν* is then this same victory. This does not seem so good, for apart from other points *φθόνος* in v. 55 is naturally the jealousy excited by Melesias' success as a trainer, not that engendered by his past exploits as a competitor in the games, which as the whole passage shews had more or less passed out of the memory of the Aeginetans. Finally, there is no reason to doubt with Christ (p. lxxv) that a distinction was made between *παῖδες* and *ἀγένοιοι*: cf. Blass Bacchylides² p. lxxv. Ol. 9, 13 *sqq.*

οὔτοι χαμαιπετέων λόγων ἐφάψεαι
ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαίσμασιν φόρμιγγ' ἐλελίζων
κλεινῶς ἐξ Ὀπόντος, αἰνήσας ἔ καὶ νιόν.

A striking instance of the perpetuation of error is seen in the interpretation of v. 15 here. Following the lead of the Scholiast all modern editors take *ἔ* to be the city of Opus. *νιόν* then has to accept the meaning of 'citizen' 'son of the state, his mother.' As confidently as possible one may assert that this sense of *νιός* is impossible. It must mean 'son' in the natural and primitive sense: *filius*. *ἔ* then is clearly Epharmostus, the victor on this occasion, the date

¹ It is perhaps worth while pointing out that *συλαθεῖς ἀγενέων* in Ol. 9, 90 means 'deprived of the beardless, his prey.' For the savage tone of boyish exultation cf. Gildersleeve on Ol. 8, 69.

of which is recoverable from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. ii. as 468 B.C.

This error has had considerable effect in determining the relations of the second person celebrated in the ode, Lampromachus (v. 90) to Epharmostus. The Scholiast on that verse simply says that Lampromachus was a kinsman of Epharmostus. This was no more than the circumstances of the ode made probable of themselves. Now we have, apart from the statement of v. 15 above, other indications of a limiting kind. In v. 67 we find *θετὸν νῖον* used in such a way as to be significant of one or other of the victors; while the parallel of Achilles and Patroclus in v. 82 *sqq.* shews that ties of special closeness held the two together. It is not unnatural to assume that Lampromachus was first the *παῖδά* of Epharmostus, who subsequently adopted him as his son. It would be, I fear, *ἐχθρὰ σοφία* to see in the words *Θέτιος γόνος* in v. 82 a trace of a Mezgerian resposion to *θετὸς νῖός*. The word *γόνος* is corrupt, a trochee being needed. Hartung has already suggested *γ' νῖός*, and though Gildersleeve may be right in thinking *γ'* 'a poor piece of patchery,' yet its presence may be a finger-post to guide us in the way. Otherwise we may as well read *κοῦρος* as any other of the words proposed.

Ol. 13, 40 *sqq.*

ἐν δ' ἀμφάλουσι Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν
Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι
Τερψία θ' ἔφοντ' Ἐριτίμῳ τ' αἰοδαί.

The Scholiast has preserved the true reading in the last verse instead of the curious corruptions *τέρψιες* and *ἐρίτιμοι*. We are prepared then to give ear to any further counsel with which he may favour us. Indirectly he does help us by his note on *Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ* in which he mentions that the sons of Terpsias were Eritimus and Namertidas, while Ptoiodorus was the father of Thessalus, father of Xenophon the victor: according to others Namertidas was another name of Eritimus, who became the father of Autolycus. In the face of this confused statement editors have usually recoiled. There are two names included in it which Pindar does not mention explicitly, and for which no niche has been found. But on closer inspection we see that the construction is really *Πτοιοδώρῳ ἔφονται σὺν πατρὶ* (on the tense I shall speak presently). There is no case in Rumpel of *ἔπεισθαι* taking *σὺν* besides the dative (cf. the later *συνέπεισθαι*), and the suspicion arises that it is a mistake to connect *σὺν* with the verb at all. *σὺν πατρὶ* sc.

Πτοιοδώρου is to be taken separately, and very possibly the Scholiast's Namertidas may have been, in the account from which he derived his list of names, the father of Ptoiodorus. With this theory of course goes the demolition of the belief that the father of Thessalus, and grandfather of Xenophon, was Ptoiodorus.

It is a certain advantage to have four persons at our disposal instead of three, for the passage being obviously in *crescendo*, we now distribute more than seven victories over these four, not as formerly three. Failure to observe that Pindar is thus ascending in the scale of glory won has led to various views about *μακρότεραι* other than the simple and true one, that of Dissen, which makes *μακρότεραι*—*αἰοδαί* the outward emblem of 'more numerous victories.' Certainly *μακρότεραι* cannot mean 'too long,' a 'self-check' as Gildersleeve thinks. The climax does not come until v. 45. *ἔσποντο* is required, finally, as a correction of *ἔφοντ'* (Bothe).

Ol. 13, 107.

ὄσα τ' Ἀρκῆς ἀνάσσων
μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίων βωμὸς ἀναξ.

The MSS. have *Ἀρκᾶσιν ἀνάσσων*, where the second word is clearly a gloss on *ἀναξ*. Of the conjectures made already Christ's *Ἀρκᾶσιν ἱστωρ* (cf. Ol. 9, 98), and Mommsen's *Ἀ. ἀσσων* please me most: in the latter it is the sense and not the closeness to the *ductus* of the interpolated *ἀνάσσων* that is to be approved. Christ's reading however is more satisfactory. The word *Λυκαίων* does not seem to have been noticed. I find it taken as an *ethnicon*, *Διὸς* being supplied. Is this possible? In the absence of proof I should prefer to take the word from *Λύκαιον* (the mountain) making the genitive depend on *ἀναξ* 'lording it over Lycaeum' i.e. 'towering over L.' This would explain how *ἀνάσσων* came to be taken as a rendering of *ἀναξ* instead of some more lucid word, as *ὑψηλός*. Plainly *ἀναξ* was thought to govern *Λυκαίων*. The name of the mountain occurs at Nem. 10, 48 unless the *ρέμνιος* of the god is there meant.

The alternative to Christ's *ἱστωρ* and the construction and meaning which I assign to *Λυκαίων* is to regard the lost word in the first line as a noun other than proper on which *Λυκαίων* now an *ethnicon* depends. I say 'noun other than proper' because neither *Διὸς* nor *Ζηνός* will satisfy the metre. Now at Nem. 5, 10 we find *παρ βωμόν πατέρος Ἑλλανίων στάντες* i.e. *Διὸς Ἑλλανίων*. I propose to insert *πατρός* after *Ἀρκᾶσι*. Written

προς this would become unmeaning and be omitted. It may be observed that prepositions are exposed to various dangers in the MSS. of Pindar as may be seen from Schröder, p. 10. An instance of a prep. omitted in the archetype (so Schröder) and in Codex A is at Ol. 8, 40 ὅπου A for

ἀνόπουε the true reading: cf. also [ἐκ] διδάσκησεν Pyth. 4, 217 Ambr. [προσ]βάλλοντα Pyth. 4, 271 Ambr. while at Pyth. 9, 62 the missing syllable has been similarly supplied, <προς> θηκάμεναι (others κατθηκ.).

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

NOTES ON EURIPIDES.

THE numeration is that of Kirchhoff's text, which has been the basis of my work. My plan has been the same which I follow in all authors,—to read a plain text first, and then, after making what I can of it myself, to turn and see what others think. Hitherto I have been content to compare Kirchhoff's notes and Paley and Nauck's text; and their omissions have sometimes led me to publish as my own conjectures made already—even by Musgrave and Hermann long ago. But that has done no harm, since Dr. Wecklein has undertaken, and nearly completed, for Euripides what he has performed for Aeschylus, the immense task of collecting all conjectures and assigning them to their original inventors; in which he may be relied upon for the most scrupulous accuracy. Considered even from this point of view alone—for the body of suggestion it contains—his work is of incalculable help to students; I cannot sufficiently express my grateful sense of the service he has done for both these authors. His text gives also more perfect collations of the MSS., which I have consulted, and the next time I read Euripides it will be with Dr. Wecklein's text; but at present I have only had leisure to consult it for these new contributions. Many of mine, as usual, I have found anticipated; but a few of these, not being generally accepted, are mentioned here with the name of their originator for the sake of the consideration they may claim from coincident opinion.

Except to critics, it might seem ungrateful to welcome a new text by proposing alterations in it, but critics know how the effect of any marked advance is to quicken and help them in removing blemishes that still remain. The few small suggestions on Sophocles dispersed among these notes are chiefly the result of studying the text published by Sir Richard Jebb in 1897 on the completion of his great edition. It leaves but scanty grains for others to glean after;

there is nothing among mine so good as Prof. Tyrrell's ἀλλ' εἰ θελώντων γ' in *O.C.* 590 or his ἐπιών in 1451.

ALCESTIS (with Wecklein 1899).

The earlier lyrics in this play have been grievously interpolated. So far as metre goes, this is my view of the original:

218 ἰὼ Ζεῦ πᾶ τις ἂν πόρος κακῶν
γένοιτο καὶ λυσὶς τύχης

220
ἔξεισι τις; ἢ τέμω τρίχα καὶ
μέλανα στολμὸν πέπλων

223 ἀμφιβαλώμεθ' ἥδη;

= 232 παπαὶ ὦ παῖ Φέρητος οἶον

234
ἄρ' ἄξια καὶ σφαγῆς τᾶδε καὶ
πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέρην
οὐρανὸν πελάσσαι;

In 218 I write πᾶ τις ἂν or πᾶ τίς ἂν . . . ejecting πῶς which is an explanation of πᾶ¹ (schol. τίς ἂν πόρος τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γένοιτο ἢ πῶς ἢ ποῦ).—In 220 = 234 it seems to me that the metre was either ἄ πάρα κοιράνοισιν as 223, 225, 265 (and this accounts best for the MS. ἂ πάρεστι κοιράνοισι), or ἂ κοιράνοισι πάρεστι as 263. But what Musgrave conjectured, ἂ πάρεστιν κοιράνοισι = ξας δάμαρτος σᾶς στερεῖς is quite foreign to this metre—or I would invite those who approve it to produce a parallel.

228 πόριζε δὴ πόριζε· καὶ πάρος γὰρ
τοῦδ' ἐφεύρες, καὶ νῦν
λυτήριος ἐκ θανάτου γενοῦ

= 242 βόασον ὦ στέναξον ὦ Φεραία
χθὼν τὴν ἀρίστην
γυναικὰ μαραινομένην νόσῳ

¹ So in *Philoct.* 834 where L gives ποὶ δε βία· πῶς δέ μοι τὰν εὐθὺν... the original I suppose was πᾶ δέ... βία; *Hec.* 1059 πᾶ βῶ;

I do not know how to restore it, but the metre of 243 should be _ _ _ _ _¹ as 412, 455, 587, 589, frequently in *Andr.* 118 sqq., 764, and *O.C.* 1690 which ought to be divided thus:

οὐ κατοῖδα· κατὰ με φόνιος Ἀΐδας ἔλοι
πατρὶ
ἐνθανεῖν γεραίῳ
τάλαιναν, ὡς ἔμοιγ' ὁ μέλλων βίος οὐ
βιωτός.

The schol. explains τοῦδ' ἐφεύρες by understanding μηχανήν (from 227 ἔξευρε μηχανάν τιν' Ἀδμήτῳ κακῶν): καὶ πρώην γὰρ τοῦτου τοῦ θανάτου εὔρες μηχανήν: but I do not suppose anyone will think that likely Greek: if Euripides had meant that, he would surely have written τοῦτ', which is given by cod. c; yet if the truth were τοῦτ', why should it have been changed to such a difficult genitive as τοῦδ'? Again, if you make the line metrical by reading ἐφεύρε the verb is not appropriate to Admetus. In 710 his father taunts him σοφῶς δ' ἐφεύρες ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν ποτε 'you have found out, discovered, invented, a method of escaping death for ever'; but what the Chorus should say here is 'for in time past also he obtained this boon, enjoyed this favour,—and so I believe they do say:

καὶ πάρος γὰρ
τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἡ ὕρ ε, καὶ νῦν
λυτήριος ἐκ θανάτου γενοῦ

which accounts at once for τοῦδε. The form of appeal 'as before, so now' is exactly the same in *O.T.* 52 ὄρνιθι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τότ' αἰσῶ τύχην παρῆσχος ἡμῖν, καὶ τανὺν ἴσος γενοῦ: and 694 ὅς τ' ἐμὰν γὰν φίλαν ἐν πόντοις σαλεύουσιν κατ' ὄρθον οὐρίσας, τανὺν τ' εὐπομπὸς ἂν γένοιτο. The usual form is 'if ever before, so now,' that is 'no occasion was ever more urgent than the present'; e.g. *Dem.* 882. 17 δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν πάντων, εἴπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ πώποτε πράγματι τὸν νοῦν προσέσχετε, καὶ τούτῳ προσέχειν: *Isaeus* viii. 5 p. 69. 6 εἰ τι νῦν καὶ ἄλλῃ πώποτε δίκη προσέσχετε τὸν νοῦν, δέομαι ὑμῶν καὶ ταύτῃ προσέχειν ὁμοίως: for examples see *Blomfield* on *Agam.* 503 (525 W.) εἰ ποὺ² πάλαι, φαειδοῖσι τοισὶδ' ὀμμασιν δέξασθε 'with bright eyes now,' *Blaydes* on *Ar. Nub.* 356, *Thesm.* 1157, *Leaf* on *Hom. Ω* 704, *Stat. Achill.* i. 509 *si quando, avidissimus hauri*. Whence at last may be emended *Agam.* 146

¹ Ithyphallic, of which the best example is the poem quoted by *Ath.* 253 c, *Bergk PLG* III p. 674

² *Auratus* for ἦπου: the εἰ is certainly right, but one would expect rather εἰ πω, if not εἴπερ.

τόσον περ εὐφρων <δέ>, Καλά, . . .
θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοις, εἴπερ τινά,
τοῦτον αἶνει³ ἔμβολα κρᾶναι,
δεξιὰ μὲν κατὰμομφα δέ, στρουθῶν

'consent to ratify, if ever any, the portents of these fowls.' That is merely to write ΟΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙCΙΠΕΡΤΙΝΑ for ΟΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙCΙΠΕΡΤΙΝΑ, obtaining the usual formula of invocation, justifying (as in no other way it can be justified) the emphatic place of τούτων, and abolishing the superfluous and inappropriate τερπνά which had been already bracketed by Paley.

In *Alc.* 229 you could equalise the metre by reading σοῦ πῆῤῥε, but I do not think it can have been so; σοῦ γ' ἐπῆῤῥε would be good.—*Hesych.* gives ἐπῆῤῥον: ἐπέτυχον. παρὰ τὸ ἐπαυρεῖν: *Pind.* P. iii. 36 has πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον: and there is the same corruption in *Ar. Eth.* p. 1163^a 20 ὅσον ἐπηύρατο, with variants ἀπηύρατο and ἐφείρετο.—In *Hel.* 1354 ὦν οὐ θέμις οὐθ' ὁσία ἐπύρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις, I thought, like Hartung, that ἐπῆῤῥω might be hidden, or some form of this verb; it would account for ὦν: ὦν μὴ θέμις μήθ' (or μῆδ') ὁσία | 'πῆῤῥω would mend the metre. Euripides has τοῦδ' ἐπαυρέσθαι *I.T.* 517, ἥς ἐπηυρόμην *Hel.* 470.

The metre of 262 = 270 is _ _ _ followed by _ _ _ (a most common consecution, e.g. *I.A.* 189, 1045, *Rhes.* 244, *Ion* 1242, *Supp.* 1007)

νεκύν δὲ πορθμῆς
ἔχων χεῖρ' ἐπὶ κόντῳ μ' | ἦδη καλεῖ 'τί
μέλλεις';

therefore Matthiae was right in ejecting Χάρων: but it pains me to see that these lines are commonly taken for iambic:

ἔχων χέρ' ἐπὶ κόντῳ Χάρων μ' ἦδη καλεῖ 'τί
μέλλεις'
= ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυανᾶνγες βλέπων

The long syllables I have marked should be enough to show that cannot be; for Lyric never uses such a rhythm.

1129 *HP.* οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τήνδ' ὀρᾶς δάμαρ-
τα σὴν.

ΑΔ. ὅρα γε μὴ τι φάσμα νερέρων τόδ'
εἰσορῶ

with γρ. τόδ' ἦ superscribed. But that is not enough to make the line correct, because ὅρα γε would mean 'yes, see', whereas what he means is 'yet see', ὅρα γε μὴ φάσμα νερέρων τόδ' ἦ (or with *Herwerden* τόδε), as

³ *Gilbert* for αἰρεῖ, which *Dr. Verrall* takes to be the second person passive 'thou art prayed'.

Soph. *O.C.* 587 ὅρα γε μὴν' *El.* 1243 ὅρα γε μὲν δὴ . . . When μὴν had been omitted before μῆ, the metre was filled out with τι.

ANDROMACHE (with Wecklein 1900)

137 δμῶϊς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας πόλεῦς
ἐνθ' οὐ φίλαν τιν' εἰσορᾷς
= 143 ἡσυχίαν ἀγομεν τὸ δὲ σὺν
οἴκῳ φέρονσα τυγχάνω

Bothe for πόλεως. The tribrach is a link between two rhythmical phrases.

279 ἔριδι στυγερά κεκορυθμένον εὐμορφίας
= 288 παραβαλλόμεναι Κύπρις εἰλε λόγους
δολίοις

Though Wecklein places my suggestion as well as Musgrave's in his margin, I incline to think now that Musgrave was right in taking δολίοις to be the faulty word. For the rhythm with εὐμορφίας and αἰόλοις compare *Ran.* 675=706.

466 μίαν μοι στεργέτω πόσις γάμοις
ἀκοινώητον ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶν
= 471 τεκτόνου θ' ὕμνοι ἐργάταιν δυοῖν
ἐριν Μοῦσαι φιλοῦσι κραίνειν

There is no doubt about the metre of the strophe, 466 like 121 = 130, 294 = 302, *Supp.* 601, 604, *H.F.* 408, and the consecution of the pair like 281—2 = 291—1; but in 471 L has τεκτόνου θ' ὕμνοι ἐργάταιν with a correction ὕμνοι ἐργάται, P τεκτόνου θ' ὕμνοι (with final σ erased) ἐργάται. First, τεκτόνου is not open to suspicion; see Blaydes on τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνοι in *Ar. Eq.* 530; and the usual explanation of it would have been τεχνιτῶν or ποιητῶν, as e.g. on *Eq.* 530 τέκτονες πάντες οἱ τεχνῖται. Therefore it is unlikely that ἐργάταιν should be ejected. The MSS. readings have the air to me of being corruptions of an unfamiliar compound, and there are two ways by which you can regain metre: δυοῖν θ' ὕμνοιο τεκτονεργάταιν, or δυοῖν ὕμνεργάταιν τε τεκτόνου, of which the second seems the better; it is more favoured by the MS., and the compound is more in character with others formed of ἐργάτης that I have noted—they are few at present: μυλεργάτας ἀνὴρ *A.P.* vii. 394 σίδαρον αὐλακ-εργάταν of a plough-share *A.P.* ix. 742, in Doricising epigrams; παρδεργάτης, κακεργάτης.¹ It would seem that with this termination they formed their words in -εργ- rather than in -οεργ- or -ουεργ-: cf. Lobeck *Path.* i. 303, *Phryn.* 675.—It is worth noting the various

distortions experienced by the compound καρικευργός as Bergk writes it in Anacreon *fr.* 91 (iii. p. 279) διὰ δὴ τε Καρικευργός ὁχάνοιο χεῖρα τιθέμεναι:—this is what various MSS. make of it: by one process καρικοεργός, καριοεργός, καριεργός: by another καρικοεργός, καρικὰ ὁ ἔργος, καρικὰ δεγός, καρικὰ εὐεργός, καρικὸν εὐεργός, καρικοῦ εὐεργός.

It was as natural,—far more, for Greek poetry to form compounds at its will than in English to connect them with a hyphen; Shakespeare says 'thought-executing', Aeschylus τελεσιφῶν: and it cannot be too often repeated that this is the way in which the baffled scribes habitually deal with them. Few, probably, realise how many of those which they are most familiar with are due to modern restoration, as ἰσάργυρον, καρδιό-δηκτον, δισοδότῳ γάνει, δορυκανεῖ μόρῳ, δρακον-θόμλον, ἀνελληνόστολον, θεοσκυθῶπων, τοσου-τάριθμον, οὐρανοστεγή, ἀπρικτόπληκτα. They were not of course used by Euripides so freely or so boldly as by Aeschylus in whose style they were so notorious a feature; but they frequently occur, and when they do, they are mostly mangled in the MSS., as in *Andr.* 463 ἀμφὶ μάτερας v.l. for ἀμφιμάτερας, 1016 δορὶ μήστορι, ἔρημος πόλις *Tro.* 605 for ἔρημόπολις, ἀπειροὶ δρόσον for ἀπειρόδροσοι *El.* 732, δώδεκα στόλοι ναῶν for δωδεκάστολοι *vāes I.A.* 272, ἀμφ' ἐλικτὸν *H.F.* 399, θηρῶν λάχνα γνίων for λαχνογνίων *Hel.* 379. It would be easy to fill pages with the like, as in *Dion. Hal. de comp. verb.* 17 for πολεμο-κέλαδε the variants πολέμοιο κέλαδε and πολε-μοικέλαδε: but I will only invite consideration for one or two new-comers: *Plut. Mor.* 950 E says οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοῦναντίον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίον φθείρεται τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς τὸν αἶρα. τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ὁ μὲν Αἰσχύλος, εἰ καὶ τραγικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς εἶπε 'παῦε ὕβριν δίκην πύρος'. The old reading was παῦ' ὕδωρ which has misled Nauck (*fr.* 360) and Mr Sidgwick, but Bernardakis gives it as παῦε ὕβριν. What then was the term 'true, if tragic,' that Aeschylus applied to water? Plainly what Bernardakis has now restored, παῦσιν ὕβριν δίκην πυρός, an adjective like φίλυβρις (which he quotes) and μίσυβρις 'the justice that stops the insolence of fire': nothing could be more Aeschylean.—I am convinced that πολλὰ δ' ἔγνυα παιδότηρτα πάθια προσμένει τοκεῦσιν μεταῖθις ἐν χρόνῳ in *Eum.* 499 should be ἐγνομοπαδότηρτα πάθια 'from wounds dealt by their own ἐγνομο παῖδες': for ἔγνυα πάθια could only mean 'real', 'genuine', implying that the πάθος of Clytemnestra had not been a real one; as in *Opp. Hal.* v. 305 when he says τότε δὴ

¹ Add μαμαεργατεῖν, πρωτεργάτης.

μιν ἐτήτυμος ὤρσεν δλεθρος.—στῆγος στρατῶ
in *Ag.* 552 I think should simply be στυγο-
στράτω, and in *Aesch. fr.* 206

ἐξευλαβοῦ δὲ μή σε προσβάλῃ στόμα
πέμφιξ· πικρὰ γὰρ ΚΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΖΩΗC 'ΑΤ-
ΜΟΙ

nothing could be more appropriate to the
sense and closer to the MS. than πικρὰ γὰρ,
κοῦ λιαζόεις ἄτμοι 'and deadly-scorching
its hot breaths'—parching like the Sun or
Sirius, οἴλιος ἄστὴρ *Hom. A* 62, κεφαλὴν καὶ
γούνατα Σείριος ἄξει, αἰαλέος δέ τε χρῶς ὑπο
καύματος *Hes. Op.* 585, εἰσόκεν ἄζης Ἥλιος
παύσεται καὶ οὐλομένου κυνὸς ἄστὴρ *Opp. Cyn.*
iii. 324: cf. *Eum.* 138 ἀτμῶ κατισχραίνοντα,
νῆδους πυρὶ, and for the crasis, κούλομένης
ἀλόχου in the epigram *Bergk ii.* p. 344; for
the plural form, κίχλας ὑψιπετείης in *Matro's*
Epic parody (*Ath.* 136 c), *Nicand. Alex.* 266
ἀμπελόεις ἔλικας, 293 πόσιες φαρμακούεις, *fr.*
74. 26 κύλικες ἀργήεις p. 101 *Schneider.*

TROADES

513 ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον ὦ
Μοῦσα καμῶν ὕμνων
515 ἐν δακρύοις ᾄδεν
ᾠδὰν ἐπικηδεῖν

515 = 535 πεύκα ἐν οὐρείᾳ, and there can be
no doubt that is the right metre (cf. *Med.*
833 sqq., *Philoct.* 827 sqq.) The MS. ᾄδον
ἐν δακρύοις must be a gloss,—I suppose upon
ᾄδειν, as *Hom. hymn.* xxxi. Ἥλιον ὕμνεῖν
ᾄτε. In explaining such infinitives, they
often use the *aorist* imperative though the
infinitive is in the present tense.

597 This in Mr. Coleridge's version is the
passage immediately preceding: ANDROM.
'Come my husband come to me! HECUBA.
Ah hapless wife, thou callest on my son
who lieth in the tomb. ANDR. Thy wife's
defender, come! HEC. Do thou, who erst
didst make the Achaeans grieve, eldest of
the sons I bare to Priam in the days gone
by, take me to thy rest in Hades halls!—
Then, as I understand it, Andromache says

οἶδε πόθοι μεγάλοι· σχετλιαστὰ δὲ πάσχομεν
ἄλγῃ
οἰχομένης πόλεως, ἐπεὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κείται

sorrow upon sorrow, the public ruin besides
the private losses, πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τῷ
δῆμον τυχεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαισθέντας
δόμων ἀνδρας διπλῇ μάλιστα τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,
δίλογχον ἄτην φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα *Ag.* 645.
That surely is her meaning; therefore you

want δὲ to contrast these other ἄλγῃ with
οἶδε πόθοι. The MS. has σχέτλια τὰδε, and
my first notion was σχέτλιοι· τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν
ἄλγῃ, but σχετλιαστὰ δὲ (a synonym of
ἀγανακτητά) seems to me altogether better—
in rhythm for instance, and because σχέτλια
παθεῖν is such a common phrase in Euripides
and elsewhere. The alteration is of course
the smallest possible, and reminds me of
Wecklein's excellent correction of *Pers.*
1019 τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν, μέγ' ἄλαστε, Περσᾶν;
for μεγάλατε Περσᾶν.

1090 εἴθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα
μέσον πέλαγος ἰούσας
δίπαλτον ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλάταν πέσοι
Αἰγαῖον κεραυνοφαῆς πῆρ
Ἰλιόθεν ὅτε με πολυδακρυν
Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα γάθεν ἐξορίζει.

πλάταν *Seidler* corrected to πλατᾶν: but
how are you to explain Αἰγαῖον? Scholiasts
can explain anything, and the scholiast
here has no hesitation in explaining, πο-
ρευομένης τῆς νεὸς τοῦ Μενελάου κατὰ τὸ μέσον
πέλαγος τοῦ Αἰγαίου. But no one is likely
to feel as easy as the scholiast about it, and
attempts have been made already to emend
it, Αἰγαῖον 'the Aegean lightning' *Paley*,
ἀγνόν *Hermann*. Now, studying these
lyrics from the metrical side, I came to the
conclusion, before I had examined the
sentence and before I knew of other views,
that Αἰγαῖον is metrically impossible; and
that the scansion required is — —, the true
division of the verses being this:

εἴθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα μέσον
πέλαγος ἰούσας δίπαλτον
ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλατᾶν
1092 πέσοι — —
κεραυνοφαῆς πῆρ,
Ἰλιόθεν ὅ σ τ ε με πολυδακρύν

In the strophe read φθίμενος with *Musurus*,
but retain τείχεα in 1078. The verse
corresponding to 1092 is σκάφος αἴσσον.
Well, assuming this to be correct, what is
αἰγαῖον a mistake for? I imagine, for
ἀγαῖον—unless Διός could be understood
with Ἀγαῖον. It is a poetical adjective¹
recorded in several lexicons, as *Hesych.*
ἀγαῖον: ἐπίφθονον. *Bekk. An.* 334. adds οἱ
δέ, θανατοτόν. οἱ δέ, φθονερόν. *Suid.* ἀγαί-
μαι: φθονοῦμαι (meaning φθονῶ). καὶ ἀγαῖος
ὁ ἐπίφθονος. And jealous was probably its
only meaning; θανατοτόν is ἀγατόν, ἀξιά-
γαστον: cf. *Eust.* 734. 63 ἔστι δὲ ἀγαίσθαι
μὲν φθόνον, ἀγάσσασθαι δὲ ἐκπλήξεως.—It is

¹ See the *Thesaurus*. *Liddell* and *Scott* requires
correction.

possible there may be other places where this adjective should be restored, just as the substantive, which we know to have been used by Aeschylus in the *Θρήνησαι*, has been restored by Hermann in *Ag.* 136 *οἷον μή τις ἄγα θεύθεν...Ag.* 654 occurs as a possible place, *χειμῶν' ἀγίων οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν*—If *ὄτε* or *εὔτε* were right in 1094, we should have to read *ἐξορίζοι*. With Nauck's *ὄς* we could read *πολυδάκρυον* as in *H.F.* 425.

1280 *πάτερ ἀνάξια Δαρδάνου*
γονῆς τὰδ' οἷα πάσχομεν δέδορκας ;

ejecting *tās* or *tῆς* or *tῆσδε* before *Δαρδάνου*

1285 *λέλαμπεν Ἴλιος <τὰ> Περ-*
γάμων τε πυρὶ καταίθεται τέραμνα

1296 *τιθεῖσα μέλεα καὶ*
χέρεσσι γαῖαν...

1305 *ἄταφος <ἄταφος> ἄφιλος <ἄφιλος>*
= 1322 μὸν ἔχως ἐπὶ τάλαιναν ἔτ' ἔτε.

SUPPLICES (with Wecklein 1898)

οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίον
δεινοί, νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλέον μέρος,
εἰς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφίενα κακά ;

that is, *δεινοί* *εἰσιν ἀφίενα* 'are very prone, apt, much given to', as e.g. *Mimnermus* (?) *Trag. fr.* p. 829 *Ναυκ δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμεν εὐκλεεὶ ζῶντι φθονῆσαι καθθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι*. The scribe, not perceiving the construction, wrote *ἀφίεσι*—for I cannot believe that Euripides did not write *ἀφίενα*: at any rate the conjecture, which is *Musgrave's*, I made also independently.—In *v.* 242 *οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὄντες* (v. *Wilamowitz-Moellendorff*) would be better, as *ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς...νικᾷ* in *fr.* 285. 15, a passage worth comparing.

377 = 381 For reasons of metre this I think should run as follows :

τί μοι πόλις κραεῖ ποτ' ; ἄρα φίλιά μοι
377 *τεμεῖ <τε> καὶ τέκνοις ταφᾶς ληψό-*
μεσθα
= σὺ τοι σέβεις δίκαν τὸ δ' ἦσσαν ἀδικία
381 *νέμονσ' αἰεὶ τὰ δυστυχῇ πάντα ῥῆν*

Antig. 363 = 375 is an example. The MS. reading is *νέμεις αἰεὶ τὸν δυστυχῇ*, and I take *νέμονσ'* from *Canter*. The neuter *τὰ δυστυχῇ* is of course good Greek, as *τὰ μὲν πανοῦργα καὶ παλιντριβῆ...τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ τὰ χρηστά Philoct.* 448.—With *τε* *καὶ* they are apt to omit the *τε*.

604 *γένειτ' ἂν κέρδος· εἰ δ' ἀρείφατοι*
φόνου, μάχαι, στεργνοτυπῆς ἄμ πόλιν

κόποι, κτύποι φανήσεται,
607 *τίν' ὦ τάλαινα ψόγον,*
τίν' ἂν τῶνδ' αἰτίαν λάβοιμι ;
= 614 *φόβῳ γὰρ τῷ πάρος διόλλυσται*
δίκαι δίκαν δ' <ἐξ> ἐκάλεσε καὶ φόνος
φόνον, κακῶν δ' ἀναψυχὰς
617 *θεοὶ βροτοῖσιν νέμονσ'*
ἀπάντων τέρμ' ἔχοντες αὐτοί.

This I feel sure is the right metre, a few examples of which are indicated in my note on *Andr.* 471. The MSS. give in 607 *ὦ τάλαινα τίνα λόγον* and in 617 *θεοὶ βροτοῖς νέμονσι* L, *θεοὶ βροτοῖσι νέμονσι* P altered to *νέμονσιν* and *πάντων* altered to *ἀπάντων*. In 605–6 they give *στεργνοτυπῆς γ' ἂν ἀνὰ τόπον* *πάλιν κτύποι φανήσονται*: for the conjectures see *Wecklein's Appendix*. There is no place in this metre for a choriambus *στεργνοτυπῆς*, and it must have been some form which scanned *— — — — — ἀνὰ πόλιν* (Markland) or *ἄμ πόλιν* seems probable, as 724 *βοῇ δὲ καὶ κωκυτὸς ἦν ἀνὰ πόλιν*, and *κόποι* or *κόπων* or some form of it may possibly have been the origin of *τόπον*.

946 'No', says Theseus, 'the mothers must not go and see their fallen sons ; ὄλουντ' ἰδοῦσαι τοῖσδ' ἂν ἡλλοιωμένους. 'True,' says Adrastus,

πικραὶ γὰρ ὄψεις καῖμα τῷ τέλει νεκρῷ

L taking this to be *καὶ ἄμα*, writes it so in full ('ut videtur' Wecklein), a very common practice: it has been altered to *χ' ἄμα*. P has been altered to *χ' ἁμάτω πέλει*. Kirchhoff's account is 'καμάτω πέλει νεκρῷ a prima manu B. *χᾶμα* τῷ τέλει C. *χᾶμα* etiam in B dedit man. sec.' What I conjectured from this does not appear to have been proposed; it has the advantage of explaining *καὶ*, and seems to me to account better for the MSS. than other readings that have been suggested,—*κώματων* 'Even the look' or 'the sight (*πικραὶ γὰρ ὄψεις* Reiske) of dead men's eyes is grievous', apart from any wounds they may have suffered. Let one *μ* be omitted (which often happens with doubled letters), and you get *κώμάτων*.

974 *μέλεα παιδὸς ἐν οἴκοις*
κῆται μνήματα, πένθιμοι
κουραὶ κοῦ στέφανοι κόμας
977 *λοιβαὶ δὲ φθιμένων αἰοῖδ'*
αἱ τε τὰς ὁ χρυσοκόμας
Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται,
γούσιον δ' ὀρθρευομένα
981 *δάκρυσι νοτέρ' αἰεὶ πέπλων*
982 *προστέρνων πτύχα τέγγω.*

This is the form that, consulting metre, I would present the passage in. 977 is omitted in the MSS., but supplied by Plutarch—quoting no doubt from memory—in *Mor.* 394 Β λοιβαὶ νεκῶν φθιμένων αἰδοῖ αἷς ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. By omitting Plutarch's νεκῶν and combining the rest with the MS. αἰδοῖ τὰς χρυσοκόμας I get both metre and what is much to be desired, the article with χρυσοκόμας.—In 981, where the MSS. have νοτῖν, I read νοτέρ' for metre's sake, instead of νοτερόν: and in 982 προστέρνων οἱ πρόστερνον as *Cho.* 29 πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ πέπλων: if it had been read as προστέρνω, that would easily cause πρὸς στέρνω.

993 Evadne lamenting her dead husband Capaneus; the metre is bacchiac leading to glyconic:

- τί φέγγος, τίν' αἴγλαν
ἐδίφρευε τόθ' Ἄλιος
995 Σελάνα τε κατ' αἰθέρ' ἅ
λαμπάδ' ὠκυθόαν ἄνυμφ'
ἱππεύουσα δι' ὄρφνας...
= 1015 ὁρῶ δὴ τελευτὰν
ἴν' ἔστακα· τύχα δέ μοι
1017 ξυνάπτει· ποδὸς ἄλμα τὰς
εὐκλείας χάριν ἔνθεν ὁρμ-
άσω τὰσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας.

995 'and Selene, that chariots her swift lamp unwedded through the gloom,'—in unwedded state (ἄνυμφα as an adverb, *Soph. El.* 926 ἄλεκτρα γηράσκουσιν ἄνυμναῖά τε) and therefore without sympathy—'when Argos hymned the happiness of my fatal marriage?' My contributions here are ἅ in 995 and ἄνυμφ': λαμπάδ' ὠκυθόαν and ἱππεύουσα had been restored already. The prime origin of the MS. reading λαμπάδ' ἴν' ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι ἱππεύουσι may have been

ΛΑΜΠΑΔΩΚΥΘΟΑΝΑΝΥΜΦΑ

meaning λαμπάδι ὠκυθόα (but of course the accusative λαμπάδα is as easy as ἄρμα ἱππεύουσα). ὠκυθόαι would lead to νύμφαι, and that to ἱππεύουσι.

In 1015 she thinks of suicide—and chance fits with her design; she is standing on a high rock and will leap down from it. Punctuating at ξυνάπτει (as rhythm indicates), we have merely to write ἄλμα for ἄλλα as in Menander *fr.* 312 (*Strabo* 452) ῥίψαι πέτρας ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς ἄλμα... Wordsworth for ἄλλα. Hermann had conjectured ἄλματ' for ἄλλα τῆς, but the long final syllable was my first requirement in the corresponding line 995.

HELENA (with Wecklein 1898).

124 οὐκουν ἐν Ἀργεὶ <γ> οὐδ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα
ῥοαῖς

Mr. Coleridge mistranslates this, 'No; he is neither in Argos, nor yet by the streams of Eurotas.' Paley is right in saying 'the γ' added by Musgrave is as essential to the sense as to the metre; for οὐν—γε is equivalent to γοῦν. The meaning is 'Certainly he is not at Argos nor at Sparta' (wherever else he may be).' Concerning particles combined with οὐν there is a radical misconception which it is important to correct. It is generally assumed that the inferential sense of οὐν is primary, whereas it is acquired. When used by itself as a connecting particle, it comes to mean 'so' or 'well then': so does δὲ, but in combination with another particle it has no more inferential sense than δὲ has, or than τοι, which is another of its equivalents. It merely strengthens and emphasises or *italicises* what it is combined with. οὐκουν... γε is the negative of γοῦν (in which it is the γε that is essential to the meaning, not the οὐν, just as in δ' οὐν it is the δέ which is essential); for though you could say γοῦν οὐκ you could not use οὐ γοῦν any more than οὐ γε. Thus *Eccles.* 343 οὐκουν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ means—'at any rate I couldn't find them anywhere.' γε is there omitted by two MSS.; but it cannot be omitted, nor could it be omitted in *Ar. Eq.* 465, nor in *Soph. Ant.* 320

KP. οἶμ' ὡς λάλημα (or ἄλημα) δῆλον ἐκπε-
φυκός¹ εἶ.

ΦΥ. οὐκουν τό γ' ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας ποτέ.

where τό γ' is Reiske's correction of τόδ': and equally in *Philoct.* 872

οὐκουν Ἀτρεΐδαι τοῦτ' ἐτλησαν εὐφόρως
οὕτως ἐνεγκύν

where the meaning is '—at any rate the Atridae never submitted to endure them so patiently,' the sentence is incapable of that meaning without γε. It might be inserted after οὕτως, but I have no doubt that what Sophocles wrote was οὐκουν Ἀτρεΐδαι γ' αὐτ' ἐτλησαν εὐφόρως οὕτως ἐνεγκύν.—Again in 'Euripides' *fr.* 953

27 φέρ' ἦν ὁ νῦν δὴ λαμβάνειν μέλλον μ'
ἀνήρ
—ὁ μὴ γένοιτο, Ζεῦ φίλ', οὐδ' ἔσται ποτέ

¹ If ἐκπεφυκός is correct, ποιήσας will depend on δῆλός εἰμι or γενήσομαι, implied from δῆλον. But I may suggest that ἐκπεφυκός would be natural for it to depend upon (as *Pers.* 788, *Trach.* 666, 1129, *O.C.* 804). It is a common enough confusion.

[οὐκ οὖν θελούσης οὐδὲ δυναμένης ἐμοῦ]—
ἦν (δ') οὗτος αὖθις ἀποβάλλη τὴν οὐσίαν

it is necessary (before ejecting the verse) to insert γ' after θελούσης: the place is of course vacant to insert it in. But Wecklein justly questions the use of δυναμένης, and I think that (as Nauck suggests) the verse is spurious. It was added by some one who imagined that the absolute assertion οὐδ' ἔσται ποτέ required to be so qualified, not knowing that it was a formula: Aristotle's will in Diog. Laert. v. 1. 11 ἔσται μὲν εὖ· εἰ δὲ τι συμβαίῃ, . . . 12 εἰ δὲ τῇ παιδί συμβῇ τι—ὅ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται—, . . . Eur. Ion 456 εἰ δ'—οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρῆσομαι—, δίκας βιαίων δώσετε: cf. Aesch. Supp. 737.

362 ἰὼ Τροία τάλανα <φεῦ φεῦ> for metre: cf. Alc. 887 = 904.

367 Read ὄλεσαν for metre instead of ὄλεσαν.

371 is mutilated; ἀνανδρον would be a most appropriate adjective, and if written with a stroke for the -ον it will be seen how easily it might be omitted: βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' ἀνανδρον Ἑλλάς ἐκελάδῃσιν ἀνωτόνυζεν.

380. For σχῆμα λεαίνης I had conjectured σχῆμ' ἀλεαίνε· 'Keep your shape warm in your furry coat,' but I see that there is much to take account of on this line. Kirchhoff thought it was the remnant of a passage referring to the Boeotian Atalanta; it had not occurred to me it should be ejected altogether. But Dingelstadt ejects it, and it is bracketed by Wecklein. Is it their theory that σχῆμα λεαίνης was a marginal comment on v. 377, to be explained by Ar. Lys. 231 schol.?

1218 Ποῦ δαὶ τὸ πεμφθὲν ἀντὶ σοῦ Τροία κακόν; for ποῦ δαὶ, as πῶς δαὶ in 1246, seems to me eminently in character with the blatant Theoclymenus, as it is with Polus in the Gorgias, and with the Chorus in the Cyclops 417. It expresses violence or impatience, and is suitable therefore to Electra in El. 1116; nor would I venture to alter it for Pylades in Cho. 899. Sir Richard Jebb's judgment on the subject (Ant. 318 Appendix) generally seems to me, as usual, right.

1354 seqq. ὦν οὐ θέμεις οὐθ' ὁσία ἐπύρσας ἐν θαλάμοις . . . is the passage that most piques me in Euripides. It looks as though it were quite capable of being explained and restored, but I have done no more than gather some material and only call attention

to it here in the hope that others will turn their hands to it. But it seems clear that Helen is exhorted to propitiate the deities of love and joy and revelry.

1485-6 and 1502-3 do not correspond. I am persuaded by metrical reasons that 1485 ποιμένος ὃς ἄβροχα is sound and the error is in 1502 γλανκὸν ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον. Now ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον¹ and ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα are familiar stock poetic phrases, and I take it that one of them has been substituted where Euripides varied it to the plural, γλαῦκ' ἐφ' ἄλ' οἶδματα.

1536 ταρσόν τε χειρὶ λευκά θ' ἰστί' εἰς ἐν ἦν: van Herwerden, I find, has conjectured and renounced εἰσένει (from εἰς—νέω like ἐπινέω, προσνέω) 'heaped in the sails,' and I also thought of εἰσένειν, the plural: ἦν is apt to be substituted for οὖν. A yachtsman perhaps would know what they should be doing with the sails: they are not yet hoisting them, of course. In Theocr. xiii. 69 the heroes waiting for Heracles filled their time up with cleaning the sails, ἰστία . . . ἐξεκάθαιρον.

1590 καὶ τις τόδ' εἶπε, 'δόλιος ἢ ναυκληρία, πάλιν πλέωμεν,' ἃ ξιῶν 'κέλευε σύ, σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἶακ'.

exactly as in the Phaethon fr. 779. 8 πατήρ δ' ὀπισθε . . . ἵππευε, παῖδα νομβετῶν 'ἐκέισ' ἔλα, τῇδε στρέφ' ἄρμα, τῇδε.' The MS. is ἀξίαν, for which Hermann had already conjectured ἀξιώ. The first requisition is addressed to the κελευστής, the second to the steerer.

1667 ὅταν δὲ κάμψης καὶ τελευτήσης βίον

So El. 954, Hipp. 86, O.C. 91. I can never read O.C. 1551 without thinking it should be

ἤδη γὰρ ἔρπω τὸν τελευταῖον βίον
κάμψων παρ' Αἰδῶν

'I am now upon the road to make the final turn (πύματον καμπτήρα Meleag. A.P. xii. 257, οὐπέκεινα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ, beyond 60 years, Herodas) and ending of my life—to reach its goal—with Hades': ἐς Αἶδαν καταλύσονσ' ἔμμοχθον βίον Eur. Supp. 1007. As indeed it had been foretold to him ἐνταῦθα κάμψειν τὸν ταλαιπῶρον βίον, v. 91. If the MSS. reading κρίψων is an error, it would be the easier because μοῦρ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε τῇδε κρυφθῆναι χθονὶ had been written a few lines before in 1546. It is the adjective

¹ It was unworthy of Bergk to alter Pind. fr. 221.

³ τέρεται δὲ καὶ τις ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον.

τελευταῖον that seems to me to call for κάμψων.

CYCLOPS (with Wecklein 1898)

63 οὐ τὰδε Βρόμιος, οὐ [τὰδε] χόροι
βάκχαι τε θυρσοφόροι

Metre shows that the second τὰδε should be ejected. The sentence then is exactly like 202 οὐχὶ Διόνυσος τὰδε, οὐ κρόταλα χαλκοῦ τυμπάνων τ' ἀράγματα : *Andr.* 168 οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' Ἐκτωρ τὰδε, οὐ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ χρυσός : *Eriphus*, (*Ath.* 137d, *Kock* ii p. 430) τὰδ' οὐ Κόρινθος οὐδὲ (*Dindorf* for οὔτε) Λαῖς ὃ Σῦρε, οὐδ' εἰτραπέζων Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί.—It is their way in repeating a phrase to repeat it *in full*; as in *Trach.* 98 for πόθι μοι, πόθι παῖς they write πόθι μοι, πόθι μοι παῖς.

366 νηλῖς, ὃ τλάμων (τλάμων?) ὅστις
δωμάτων ἐφεστίους
368 ἰκτῆρας ἐκθίνει δόμων
κόπτων, βρύκων,
ἐφθά τε δαινύμενος μυσάροισιν ὁδοῦσιν
371 θέρμ' ἀπ' ἀνθράκων κρέα.

ξενικούς before ἰκτῆρας in 368 I think with Bothe and Hermann should be ejected; and I feel sure with Hermann that ἀνθρώπων should be removed from the beginning of 371. Then the metre will be that which is repeated in *Ar. Ran.* 814–829, as 824 ῥήματα γομφοπαγῇ πινυκῆδον ἀποσπῶν | γηγενεῖ φυσήματι. It is a Dorian rhythm, and used there because it was associated with big and *Herculean* themes, whether the hero were ascending to Heaven through his ἀρετή, or eating oxen whole : as in the fragment of Pindar I was emending in the February number of last year, *fr.* 168 (*Ath.* 411b) which ends βαρὺν ἦν αἰόντα διακρίναι στεναγμὸν πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος. Heracles there is ἀπανθρακίζων oxen as the Cyclops is preparing ἀπανθρακίζειν men (242). They were the oxen of Theiodamas, *Philostr. Imag.* ii. 24, and the story is told also by Pherecydes in *schol. Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1212, *Apollodor.* p. 97 *Wagner*, *Tzetz. Chil.* ii. 465; another story of Heracles βουφάγος (*'Lucian'* ii. 401, *A.P.* ix. 59. 7), βουθοίνας (*A.P.* xvi. 123) is that he took one of the oxen from a cart and ate it while the βοηλάτης cursed him from a hill, *Apollod.* p. 86, *Tzetz. Chil.* ii. 386: add *Eur. fr.* 687 (*Philo* ii p. 461), *Ar. Ran.* 506 βοῦν ἀπνηρθράκιζ' ὅλον for Heracles, and cf. *Blaydes* on *Acharn.* 85.—I take the first occasion of withdrawing my advocacy of λευρόν (*v. Herwerden*) in *Pind. N.* viii. 46: it is right in so far as λάβρον is clearly wrong, but the true correction is Cookesley's

Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν, as *N.* vii. 77 and *P.V.* 279, 'is a light task.'

434 εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἴδοιμεν ἡμέραν
Κύκλωπος ἐκφυγόντες ἀνόσιον κάρα
ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον
χρηρέομεν τόνδ' οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφαγεῖν.

The clue to this is διὰ χρόνον, which the editors accept in the sense 'for a long time past'; but the Greek for that would be ἐκ πολλοῦ or πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, whereas διὰ μακροῦ means 'after a long interval'. ὥς, therefore, does not mean 'since', but 'in order that', and must be followed by ἔχοιμεν or σχοίμεν, a sentence like *Vesp.* 1251 τὸ δεῖπνον συσκεύαζε νῦν, ἵνα καὶ μεθυσθῶμεν (*μεθύομεν* *Cobet*) διὰ χρόνον. I would offer merely as a tentative suggestion

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γοῦν, οἷ γε τόνδε τὸν φίλον
χρηρέομεν σίφωνα, ἔχοιμεν καταφαγεῖν

if καταφαγεῖν is the right word—for even as a matter of language καταφαγεῖν ἔχω (in spite of καταφαγῆς) sounds as strange as καταπιεῖν δίδωμι, φέρω, would be for πιεῖν: the simple verb of course is good, φαγεῖν ἔδωκε. *Antiphanes* 248 (*Ath.* 71e) ἐνθάδ' οἰσεῖς [τι] καταφαγεῖν; cannot be urged, because the line is incomplete.—One of the copies has καταφυγεῖν, and Hermann conjectured καταφυγὴν: *Supp.* 269 ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν.

HECUBA (with Prinz 1883)

I Ἦκω νεκρὸν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότον πύλας
λιπὼν ἴν' Αἰδὸς χωρὶς ὥκισται θεῶν.

'apart' that is 'from the Gods of Heaven' (τῶν οὐρανίων as the scholiast explains it), occupying οἰκία...τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ *Hom. Y* 64, *regna...dis invisae Verg. A.* viii. 245. So *Orpheus* says it was assigned for men χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ναῖεν ἔδος (*Proclus Tim.* p. 38 A). θεοὶ and ἀθάνατοι are often used in discrimination from the χθόνιοι δαίμονες: *Apollodor.* p. 14 *Wagner*, *Persephone* was compelled to remain the third part of the year μετὰ Πλούτωνος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς: frequently by *Aeschylus* in the *Eumenides*, 109, 352, 363,¹ 414, who have λάχη θεῶν διχοστατοῦντα 389. Explain accordingly *Agam.* 642, which has been in-

¹ This should be perhaps σπυδομένα δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τὰσδε μερίμνας θεῶν—ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς (μελέταις) επικραίνειν μὴδ' εἰς ἀγκρισὶν ἐλθεῖν 'and while I am at such pains to relieve (*Xen. Cyr.* vii. 1. 44) one of the gods (Apollo) of this troublesome concern,—that he should make my (determinations) of none effect! annul them, without even coming to first question,—for we are debarred from speech with Zeus.'

terpreted in many ways but never, I think, in the only way the Greek admits:

εὐφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλω
γλώσση μιαινεῖν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμὴ θεῶν

—that observance is separate from the Gods of Heaven', χωρὶς θεῶν ἔστιν ἢ τιμή. Cf. Plut. Mor. 361.

1057 σφακτὰν κυσί τε φονίαν δαῖτ' ἀνήμερον
οὐρείαν τ' ἐκβολάν

This, which is no metre as it stands, should probably be three dochmiacs. Hesych. explains φόνος: ὁ διὰ σφαγῆς θάνατος, and I take σφακτὰν here to be an adscript. Then you can easily get metre with

κυσί τε δαῖτ' ἀνήμερον φόνιον οὐρ—
εἰαν τ' ἐκβολάν.

BACCHAE (with Weeklein 1898)

Has it ever been suggested that the name Βρόμος is not originally derived from βρόμος meaning *fremitus*, but from the grain called βρόμος? so that the title is virtually equivalent to *John Barleycorn* (Frazer *The Golden Bough* i 284) and the same as the Mariandynian Βῶρμος of Bithynian Thrace. If it has not been worked out, it would be an interesting enquiry—not least from an ethnological point of view, considering the Malay word *bram* or *brum* 'an intoxicating liquor made from burnt palm-sugar or molasses, and fermented rice', from which Prof. Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*) derives our English *rum*. References must be sought in Hehn *Kulturpflanzen* pp. 536 sqq. and the *Thesaurus* s.vv. βρόμος, Βόρμος: to which I may add an epigram by the Emperor Julian on a Celtic corn-liquor, where the meaning of βρόμον has commonly been misunderstood; *A.P.* ix. 368. 3

ἦ ῥά σε Κελτοὶ
τῇ πενίῃ βοτρύων τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων
τῷ σε χρή καλεῖν Δημήτριον, οὐ Διόνυσον,
πυρογενὴ μᾶλλον, καὶ Βρόμον, οὐ
Βρόμιον.

'πυρογενή' instead of 'πυργενή'. It is very clever; but Βρόμος, as I suggest, was actually Βρόμος, and Σεμελίον certainly no other than Δημήτριον, for Σεμέλη, Mr. J. H. Moulton tells me, is merely 'Phrygian-Thracian' for *Earth*, and appears in *Nova Zembla*: see Hehn *op. cit.* pp. 69, 552.

233 ἀνασεύοντά τε κόμας: metre requires this verb in *Cycl.* 75 ξανθὰν χαίταν <ἀνα> σείεις, and it should be restored I think in

Autocrates Com. (Ael. *N.A.* xii. 9) i p. 807 Kock:

οἷα παίζουσιν φίλαι
παρθέναι Λυδῶν κόραι
κούφα πηδῶσαι <ποσὶν
κάνασείουσιν> κόμας v.l. κόμας
κάνακρούουσιν χερσὶν
'Εφείσιν παρ' Ἀρτεμιν
καλλίσταν, [καὶ] τοῖν ἰσχίῳν

326 κεί μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ὡς σὺ
φῆς,
παρὰ σοὶ λεγέσθω

The sense appears to require what Paley suggests, κεί μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν οὗτος, ὡς σὺ φῆς, θεὸς or κεί μὴ θεὸς γὰρ ἔστιν.

330 ὄρᾳς τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ἀθλιὸν μόνον;
'Look at Actaeon's miserable fate!' This use of ὄρᾳς; in pointing to an example occurs in *fr.* 420. 1, 1052. 3, *Soph. Ant.* 712, Menand. 350 and commonly enough in later prose, Lucian, Dion Chrysostom, Maximus Tyrius; but when Polus employs it in the *Gorgias* 471 D, he is snubbed by Socrates: ΠΩΛ. Ἀρχέλαον δῆπου τοῦτον τὸν Περδίκκου ὄρᾳς ἀρχοντα Μακεδονίας; ΣΩ. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἀκούω γε. It may have been one of the rhetorician's mannerisms.

395 ἰκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον
νῆσον τὰς Ἀφροδίτας
ἐν ᾧ θελξίφρονες νέμονται θνατοῖσιν
'Ερωτες,
Πάφον θ', ἂν <θ'> ἐκατόστομοι
βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ
καρπίζουσιν ἀνομβροὶ (ἀνομβρον Mat-
thiae)

'Cyprus and Paphos (which Strabo remarks and illustrates as being habitually named together so, p. 33, p. 341) and' of course 'Egypt', which also, as Herodas says was οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ: the *unshowered* land made fruitful by the *barbarous* river *many-mouthed*—what other could it be but Egypt, which is constantly called *barbarous* in the *Helena*? To describe it by a relative ἂν θ' (as Schoene and Prof. Tyrrell rightly read) is a very common form of expression, e.g. Callim. *h. Del.* 20 καὶ Μακρὶς Ἀβαντιάς Ἑλλοπιῶν, Σαρδὴ θ' ἱμερόεσσα, καὶ ἦν ἐπενήξατο Κύπρις...—Dr. Verrall's view (*Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 86), that these are aspirations which the Bacchanals repudiate, is to me convincing.

446 ἐκ παρασκευῆς 'Hermannō monente Kirchhoff'. See Lucian i. 206, and compare Alexis 264 (Ath. 565 b) ἂν πιπτοκοπούμενον τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον ὄρᾳς, one of two things must

be the matter with him: ἡ γὰρ ἐρατεύειν¹ ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία, ἡ πλουσιακὸν τοῦτο τι προσπίπτει κακὸν 'it is either because he intends to play the ἐρατός, or else it is one of the vices belonging to the πλουσιακὴ διαγωγὴ' (see Gataker on Marc. Antonin. i. 3).

419 σοφὸν δ' ἀπέχων πρᾶπιδα φρένα τε
περισσὼν παρὰ φωτῶν

I cannot mend this, but it is worth remarking, that ἀπέχω τι παρὰ τινος is 'I have received a debt', the perfect of ἀπολαμβάνω: in acknowledging the receipt of a debt you said ἀπέχω (τὸ χρέος παρὰ σοῦ δηλ.)

623 It strikes me that δόματ' ἐρρηξεν χαμάζε should be ἐρραξεν 'dashed', and that in *H.F.* 856 we should read καταρράξω for καταρρήξω, and in 1045 καταρ<ρ>άξω with the MSS., as in 1129 συνήραξ' οἶκον. Ordinary Greek used ῥήσσω, ῥήξαι in this sense, and the error at any rate is common.

996 τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ should in my opinion be τὸ σοφὸν οὐ ζηλῶ (*Journ. Philol.* xxvi. p. 235), of which φθονῶ is a mistaken explanation. Observe now that in substituting it in the text for ζηλῶ the copyist has got not only wrong meaning but wrong Greek. You could say οὐ φθονῶ σοι τοῦ σοφοῦ, or with an infinitive οὐτοί φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος: and that you could continue by saying τοῦτο μὲν οὐ φθονῶ, but τοῦτο there would be the equivalent of that infinitive. Thus in *I.T.* 491 when Iphigeneia says τί δὲ φθονεῖς τοῦτο; she means τί δὲ φθονεῖς τὸ ὀνομά μοι λέγειν; but she could not have said τί δὲ φθονεῖς μοι τοῦτομα; It would be Greek for the Chorus to say τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ σοι διώκειν, but not οὐ φθονῶ τὸ σοφόν. And there are numbers of verbs to which the same applies, with which you could use ἐν or τοῦτο, but only because it was the equivalent of an infinitive; ἀξίω in Herodas and Xenophon is one.

τὰ δ' in 997 belongs perhaps to 998 so that it should be τὰδε τὰ καλὰ βίον,² 'this is the real beauty of life, to be reverent and holy day and night', ἐπὶ being a mistake for ἐστὶ which of course is inserted often. One of the places I think is *Soph. Phil.* 655

¹ So read for στρατεύειν (cf. for instance Muson. *epi kouphs* in Stob. *Flor.* vi. 62). I should like to read this verb in the clever epigram of Sophocles on Euripides (*Ath.* 604 d) σοὶ δ' ἐρατευομένη βορρᾶς ὠμίησε, taking φιλοῦντι ἑταῖραν or ἑταῖραν to be explanations of a corrupted reading ἑταρεν- or ἑτερεν-.

² For the phrase, add Hyperides *fr.* 209 Blass.

NE. ἡ ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ κλεινὰ τόξ' ἂ νῦν ἔχεις;
ΦΙ. ταῦτ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γ', ἀλλ' ἂ βαστάζω
χεροῖν.

'This and no other,—this that I carry in my hand', where the negative is naturally followed by ἀλλὰ as in Longus iv. 21 to the question οὐ ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς συνεξεθήκαμεν; the answer is οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα. The ΑΛΛΑΓΑΛΛΑ has caused various corruptions in the MSS.

A has ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γ' ἔσθ' ἂ
L ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔσθ' ἂ
Γ ταῦτ' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔσθ' (ἢ or ἔστ') ἀλλ' ἂ

ἔστι, I think, could not stand rightly in that place: ταῦτ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔστι would be 'for there is no other' as in Ar. *Plut.* 106.

1145 ὅς τὰν θηλυγενῆ στολὰν
νάρθηκά τε πιστὸν αἶδαν
ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον

There need be no excuse for offering another suggestion on this place. Among previous conjectures I like Heath's πιστὸν αἶδα 'a warrant of death' the best, and after that Prof. Tyrrell's ἐπακτὸν Αἶδαν—if only the MS. had πλείστον, there could be no gain-saying that. But it was Kirchhoff's proposal ἐπὶ στοναχαῖς that suggested a better rhythm, and Tyrwhitt's Βυστονίδων, which I learn from Wecklein, has the same. My thought was

νάρθηκά τ' ἐπιστολάδαν
ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον

The adverb is used by Hesiod *Scut.* 286 to describe the way that labourers arrange their dress in digging, οἱ δ' ἀροτῆρες ἡρικοιν χθόνα διὰν, ἐπιστολάδην δὲ χιτῶνας ἐστολάτο, where the schol. interprets it by κοσμίως καὶ ἀνεσταλμένως. Christodor. *A.P.* ii. 139 uses the verb in describing how a priestess of Athena (that is, the statue) was attired, παρθένος Ἀθῆνῃ, φᾶρος ἐπιστεῖλασα κατωμαδόν· οὐ γὰρ (οὐδ' ἄρ' Brunck) ἐθείρας κρηδόμενον συνέεργεν 'with a cloak arranged over her shoulders': cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 44 Medea stealing out, λαίη μὲν χερὶ πέπλον ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν ἀμφὶ μέτωπα στελαμένη 'drawing her robe over her brows to veil her face'. Over or upon should be the meaning always of the preposition ἐπὶ in this compound: ἀναστέλλειν is to arrange or tuck up (*Nonn.* D. 48. 316, for wading 338 ἐκ ποδὸς ἄχρι καρῆνον...ἀναστέλασα χιτῶνα) καταστέλλειν to dress down, (*Ar. Thesm.* 256, Mnesilochus in woman's garb, ἔθι νυν κατὰστέλόν με τὰ περὶ

τὴν σκέλη, Plut. *Mor.* 69 c when small children fall down, their nurses ἡγειραν καὶ περιέπλυναν καὶ κατέστειλαν), σ.στέλλειν to gather the dress together close—and so on; all the prepositions have distinct significations, therefore ἐπὶ should describe a method of

arranging *on*, as upon the shoulder, and that must be taken for the meaning of νάρθηκά τ' ἐπιστολάδαν ἔλαβε.—θύρσους ἀνάπτειν is the phrase in 169.

W. HEADLAM.

(To be continued).

PLATONICA.—I.

PHAEDRUS.

234 E οἷε ἂν τινα ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἄλλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕτερα τούτων μείζω καὶ πλείω περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος;

μείζω is quite the wrong word to use with regard to the plain everyday style of Lysias and of the ἐρωτικός λόγος here ascribed to him. It would be much more in keeping with the style of such a λόγος as begins with p. 244, a style which is indeed elevated and great. It would not be difficult in any case to see what word Plato must have used, but the parallel passages within a page or two indicate it very clearly. 235 B μὴδέν' ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν ἄλλα πλείω καὶ πλείονος ἀξία: *ib.* C πού σὺ βελτίω τούτων ἀκήκοας; and παρὰ ταῦτ' ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἕτερα μὴ χείρω: *ib.* D μὴ ἐλάττω ἕτερα ἐπιχειρεῖ εἰπεῖν: 236 B ἕτερα πλείω καὶ πλείονος ἀξία εἰπόντων τῶν Λυσίου. Plato wrote ἀμείνω. [Dr. Postgate points out to me that, though the Bodleian MS. (B) has ἕτερα τούτων μείζω, the Venetian (T) has ἕτερα μείζω τούτων. If this was the order of words, the error would be still easier.]

237 B καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν αἰτῶν ἔπειθεν τοῦτ' αὐτό, ὥς μὴ ἐρώωντι πρὸ τοῦ ἐρώοντος δέοι χαρίζεσθαι, ἔλεγεν τε ᾧδε.

Neither αἰτῶν nor ἐρώων seems quite the right word, nor does either of them exactly account for the other. ΛΕΓΩΝ may perhaps account for both and is very suitable.

242 A B οἶμαι. . μὴδὲνα πλείονος (λόγους) ἢ σὲ πεποιηκέναι γεγενῆσθαι ἥτοι αὐτὸν λέγοντα ἢ ἄλλους. . προσαναγκάζοντα καὶ νῦν αὖ δοκεῖς αἰτιός μοι γεγενῆσθαι λόγῳ τινὶ ῥηθῆναι.

Badham has altered the second γεγενῆσθαι to γενήσεσθαι, I think with reason, as the λόγος is still in the future. But the first γεγενῆσθαι seems to me more clearly wrong. Surely after πεποιηκέναι we could not have another perfect, but only the aorist γενέσθαι.

ib. C καὶ τινα φωνὴν ἔδοξα αὐτόθεν ἀκοῦσαι, ἢ με οὐκ ἔᾶ ἀπιέναι.

I think ἔᾶ should be εἶα. So a little below (243 A) in ἐγνώ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ποιῶ εἰθύς, οὐκ ἔστ' κ.τ.λ. the imperfect ἐποίει seems called for.

244 C τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων ζήτησιν τοῦ μέλλοντος διὰ τε ὀρνίθων ποιουμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων.

Schanz brackets ποιουμένων, which is certainly a very awkward word. The expedient of separating ζήτησιν from τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων and supplying τέχνην with the latter words seems forced and difficult. The old conjecture ποιουμένην would be attractive, if it were not tolerably certain that Plato would have written not ποιουμένην but γιγνομένην, γίγνομαι being the usual passive of ποιῶ. I am inclined to suggest διὰ τε ὀρνίθων πετομένων.

250 C καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι τούτου, ὃ νῦν σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὁστρέον τρόπον δεδεσμευμένοι.

Ἀσήμαντοι is explained with reference to the σῶμα σῆμα of *Crat.* 400 c, *Gorg.* 493 A. 'It means' says Thompson, '(1) unmarked i.e. unpolluted, and (2) unentombed, unimprisoned, according to the two senses of σῆμα.' But is this quite satisfactory? There is nothing in the context to indicate that Plato has σῶμα σῆμα in his mind, and how is the reader to find it out? Also 'without mark of the body' is perhaps not quite the happiest way of expressing the supposed effect of body on soul. Although therefore the common view may be right, it seems just worth while to suggest ἀπήμαντοι as an alternative reading. Parallel to these words we have two or three lines above ὁλόκληροι μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθείς κακῶν. The words of 248 c must also be taken into account; θεσμός δ' Ἀδραστέας ὅδε: ἦτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῶ ξυνοπαδὸς γενομένη κατὶδῃ τι τῶν ἀληθῶν, μέχρι τε τῆς ἑτέρας περιόδου εἶναι.

Thompson's defence of εἶναι will not hold water. Perhaps ἐνείναι (Heindorf εἶναι ἐν) λόγοις γεγραμμένοις; or did Plato write λόγου γεγραμμένον, 'something more in writing'?

276 D οἷς λέγων παίζων MSS. ἐν οἷς λέγων παίζων Heindorf. *Alii alia*. Perhaps οἷς λέγων ἐμπαίζων. This might account for λέγων, if that is not due only to the termination of παίζων.

I add without comment a few other changes which occur to me and which explain themselves.

227 D ἡ γὰρ ἂν <ᾧ> ἀστεῖοι καὶ δημοφελεῖς εἰεν οἱ λόγοι.

229 C εἰ ἀπιστοῖν...εἴτα σοφισζόμενος φαίην κ.τ.λ. For εἴτα perhaps εἶτε or εἵτε.

230 D ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πυνῶντα θρέμματα θαλλόν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες ἄγουσιν, οὐ μοι λόγους οὕτω προτείνων...φαίνει περιάζειν. I would rather omit ἄγουσιν than with Thompson οἱ.

238 B γαστριμαργία τε <ἔσται> or <κεκλησεται>.

239 A τοσοῦτων <οὖν> κακῶν!

252 D Something like τὸν τε οὖν ἔρωτα <σέβων ἕνα γέ τινα> τῶν καλῶν πρὸς τρόπου ἐκλέγεται.

254 D ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἤκουσιν or ἤδη εἰσὶν (Buttmann εἰσὶν).

266 C μαθόντα.

267 B Το καινά τε ἀρχαίως τὰ τ' ἐναντία καινῶς add the λέγουσι which Heindorf saw to be wanted, or something equivalent.

I do not know why Ast's ὀφθαλμίαν in 255 D and his τὸ εἶναι in *Rep.* 395 C have not been universally adopted. So with Stallbaum's ἐξαγγελῶ in 279 B, the same correction which I have made in *Ep.* 13. 362 C. In 236 E B and T agree in giving ἐξαγγέλλειν, though the second hand in the latter gives the necessary ἐξαγγελεῖν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

ON PLATO, *PHAEDRUS* 274 D.

Βασιλέως δ' αὖ τότε ὄντος Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦ περὶ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ἂν τὸπον ἦν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν θεόν Ἀμμωνα, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεὸς τὰς τέχνας ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις.

Badham in his text of the *Phaedrus* (Oxford, 1851) first detected corruption in the words καὶ—Ἀμμωνα; his remedy was to insert αὐτὸν before τὸν θεόν. From this it would appear that he did not locate the seat of the disorder rightly, which I believe with Mr. H. Richards to reside in the last words. Thamus identified by Plato with Ammon, was no doubt, like Theuth, one of Egypt's ancient deities τῶν παλαιῶν θεῶν (274 C).

But he has not been mentioned as one in the previous context, whereas Theuth has. The phrase then can only be defended by a couple of hypotheses (1) that Thamus' divinity was a fact which Plato might presume was well known to his readers, and (2) that the article may refer without harshness to Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας. Both of these appear to be doubtful. I should have thought that the godhead of Thamus, whose utterance forms the moral of the story, would not be introduced in this oblique fashion; and that an ἐκεῖ or αὐτοῦ or some other definition of the place would have preceded θεόν. On these grounds I propose τὸν Θαμῶν.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES ON PLATO'S *APOLOGY*, 17 B, 20 B.

Apology 17 B ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοὶ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μέντοι μὴ Δία, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦτον, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασιν.

Many a scholar must have noticed, but does not seem to have called attention in print to the fact that we have here a bit of chiasmic order: that εἰκῇ is opposed to κεκοσμημένους and τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασιν is contrasted with κεκαλλιπημένους γε λόγους.

For *εἰκῇ* as opposed to *τάξιν* and *κόσμος*, we may compare Plato's *Gorgias* 503 E1. The latest exegetical edition before me says on the passage in question, 'τοῖς δνόμασι duplicates and explains *εἰκῇ*,' while another recent commentator says 'κεκοσμημένους means adorned with tropes or rhetorical figures.' Neither of these statements is true. Socrates is made by Plato to call attention to his lack of premeditation both in the order of his arguments (*εἰκῇ*) and as to the language used (λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν δνόμασιν, spoken in the words which occur to me).

Apology 20 B νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὸν, τίνα αὐτοῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ἐπιστάτην λαβεῖν; τίς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν;

Socrates is repeating his conversation with Callias. If the latter's two sons had been colts or calves, a farmer could have been found to give them the true

excellence of an ox or a horse. Now since they are boys, is there anyone who can give them the true excellence of a man and a citizen? The familiarity of politics has weakened the feeling of most commentators and translators for the adjective πολιτικός as the equivalent of the genitive of πολίτης. Thus πολιτικός σύλλογος, *Gorgias* 452 E, is simply equivalent to τῶν πολιτῶν σύλλογος, and *Phaedo* 82 A, οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες is 'those who have practised the virtues of a common man and a citizen.' Elsewhere, of course, πολιτικός means statesmanlike, political, but also of the city, as the equivalent of τῆς πόλεως, as *Republic* 521 B, 489 C. Jowett's translation may be quoted, as showing the ordinary interpretation of the passage before us: 'Is there anyone who understands human and political virtue?' To the ordinary reader, this translation does not make clear the force of πολιτική.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

ATTRACTION THROUGH APPPOSITION IN *ILIAD* X 325, *ODYSSEY* α 51, AND *AESCHYLUS* SEPT. 3.

THAT an appositive word is often influenced by the construction of a relative clause which intervenes between it and the noun with which it is in apposition, has long been recognized, and is a familiar truth. *E.g.* in α 22

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἔοντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,

ἔσχατοι has been attracted from the accusative by the nearer τοί. In α 68

ἀλλὰ Ποσειδάων γαῖνοχος ἀσκελὲς αἰεὶ
Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται, ὃν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀλάωσεν,
ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον κ.τ.λ.,

Πολύφημον has been attracted from the genitive. Cf. also Γ 121

Ἴρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένη λευκωλένῳ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν
εἰδομένη γαλῶν Ἀθηνοριδαο δάμαρτι,
τὴν Ἀθηνοριδῆς εἶχε κρείων Ἑλικάων,
Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην,

where Λαοδίκην is attracted from the dative. The idiom is common also in prose. Cf. Plato's *Apology*, 41 A, εἰ γάρ τις...εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικάστας, οἱ περ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ

δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθους κ.τ.λ., and *Republic* 402 C οὕτως οὐδὲ μουσικοὶ πρότερον ἐσόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οὔτε οὐς φάμεν ἡμῖν παιδευτέον εἶναι τοὺς φύλακας, where οἱ φύλακες is expected.

I should like to explain by this attraction to the construction of an intervening clause, three passages which have caused much difficulty to commentators:

X 322 τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μὲν ἔχε χροᾶ
χάλκεα τεύχεα,
καλά, τὰ Πατρόκλοιο βίην ἐνάριξε
κατακτάς,
φαίνετο δ' ἢ κληίδες ἀπ' ὤμων αἰχρὲν
ἔχουσιν,
325 λαυκανίην, ἵνα τε ψυχῆς ὤκιστος ὄλεθρος.

Editors generally supply χροῦς as subject of φαίνετο, and Hentze says that he has no satisfactory explanation for the accusative of 325. May we not say that the poet had λαυκανίην in mind from the first, but that the noun was attracted to the construction of the relative clause?

α 48 ἀλλὰ μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι δαΐφρονι δαΐεται ἦτορ,

δυσμῶρψ, ὅς δὴ δηθὰ φίλων ἀπο πῆματα
 50 νάσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι
 θαλάσσης,
 νήσος δὲνδρήσσει, θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει.

Most exegetical editions put a period at the close of 50, and speak of the 'asyndeton of vivid description'; but the critical editions of Bekker and of Ludwich have a comma there, and Hayman rightly says that νήσος is 'epanalepsis, see on 23, with case varied by attraction of ὀμφαλός preceding.'

The third passage to which I would apply this explanation is at the opening of Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes*.

Κάδμον πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρῶτος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως,
 οἶακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.

Paley says of the last clause quoted: 'μὴ κοιμῶν is to be closely taken with νωμῶν, for which reason it seems better to omit the comma usually placed after the latter word, "managing the helm without closing his eyes." The μὴ depends on the indefinite ὅστις.' Verrall places a period at the close of the first verse, saying that to the connexion of the three verses 'there are two fatal objections: (1) the case of κοιμῶν... and (2) the want of connexion between χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια and the following figure; λέγειν τὰ καίρια is the business of everyone, not of a statesman in particular, still less of a sleepless pilot.' Wecklein-Zomarides say: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἶακα νωμῶν ἐπεξηγείται οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν πρύμνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ καθήκον τοῦ ἀρχοντος... διὰ ταῦτα προσκολλᾶται ἐν παραθέσει ὁμοιοπώτως ἡ ῥήσις βλ ἐφ α ρ α μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ. ἄλλως ὀφείλε τις νὰ εἰκάσῃ, ὥσπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Heimsoeth, κοιμῶν θ' ἐν τῇδε τῇ συναρτήσει τῶν λέξεων, 'χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια ἐκείνον, ὅστις—πόλεως οἶακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν θ' ὕπνῳ.' ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μετοχῶν

οὐσῶν τροπικῶν ἀναφέρεται ἡ μὲν νωμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐν πρύμνῃ, ἡ δὲ κοιμῶν εἰς τὸ φυλάσσει: ὅστις ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως φυλάσσει τὰ πράγματα αὐτῆς ὡν οἰακοστρόφος ἄγρυπνος. Heimsoeth's emendation is the less likely because Eustathius had κοιμῶν before him, and it is unnecessary, since the participle is naturally attracted to the construction of the relative clause, even though it is most closely connected in thought with the subject of λέγειν τὰ καίρια. The thought of Eteocles is, then: 'I am here before the break of day, and must devise the wisest plans, since I bear the responsibility for the safety of the ship of state.' The scholiast's comparison of B 24:

οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,

is entirely in point, and Verrall's remark, 'The hour (it appears to be scarcely yet light, vv. 29, 66) lends significance to the figure,' is correct, but not sufficiently emphatic. This opening sentence of the play informed the audience of the time of the action, as distinctly as the opening of the *Clouds*—ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον! The ἄγγελος κατὰσκοπος of the Thebans visited the Argive camp at night, and returned before day-break; by day he could not have mingled with the Argives without recognition. In 66 he promises to have an ἡμεροσκόπον ὀφθαλμόν for the day, i.e. to watch by day the movements of the enemy from a distance, as he had served as a spy by night.

The reader will remember that Euripides in his *Phoenician Women* (97) caused the Paedagogus to explain to Antigone his knowledge of the Argive army—he had been to their camp with a message to Eteocles; but the messenger of the *Seven against Thebes* had enjoyed no such opportunity.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

ON THE WORD ἀφειδῶν.

A critic in the current number of *Hermathena* raises an interesting point on the text of Apollonius Rhodius. In ii. 98 the MSS. reading is

οὐδ' ἄρα Βέβρυκες ἄνδρες ἀφειδῶσαν βασιλῆος

Choeroboscus however (Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 1353) quotes the line with ἀκήδησαν, which

has been adopted by Merkel and is considered as certain by Bonitz and Prof. Jebb. On the other hand Jacobs (on *Anth. Pal.* v. 279) and Meineke (*Anal. Alex. ad Euphor. civ.*) defend the text. In my recent edition of the text I have after consideration seen no sufficient reason for deserting the MSS. The objection to the text is of course

ἀφειδύν = ἀμελύν, and if this were the *only* instance in Apollonius of this sense of the word the proposed correction ἀκήδησαν would be more convincing. This however is not the case, for we find iii. 630

ἧ δ' ἄφνω τὸν ξείνον, ἀφειδήσασα τοκήων,
εἶλετο

ii. 869

Διακίδη, πῶς καλὸν ἀφειδήσαντας ἀέθλων
γαίῃ ἐν ἁλλοδαπῇ δὴν ἔμμεναι;

where the sense of ἀφειδύν is the same as in ii. 98, and we also have the adjective (in an active sense) in iv. 1252

αἰθ' ἔτλημεν, ἀφειδέες οὐλομένοιο
δείματος κ.τ.λ.

If then ἀκήδησαν is to be read in ii. 98 we must make the corresponding changes in the other three passages. But neither Bonitz nor any one else proposes to do this. Besides this Apollonius has the aor. partep. three times absolutely (= freely, ungrudgingly) and the adv. ἀφειδέως once—a usage which is common enough. Again, Choeroboscus is not always accurate in citing Apollonius, e.g. he quotes (iii. 386)

Διήτη, χρεόμενοι (for σχέοι μοι) τῷδε στόλῳ, and, as it happens, Apollonius does not use the verb ἀκρδεύν. I do not lay any stress on the unlikelihood of a more difficult word ἀφειδήσαν having supplanted a less difficult ἀκήδησαν, because there are two or three instances where κηδόμενος and φειδόμενος are confused in MSS. Writers later than Apollonius also use ἀφειδύν = ἀμελύν, 'to disregard, neglect, pay no heed to.' Examples may be found in *Strab.* p. 17 (Cas.) ad fin., *Mus.* 302, *Nonn.* viii. 217, 389, but it is unnecessary to quote them. So we find οὐ φειδίσθαι in the same sense, e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 706

οὐδ' ἐφείσατο οὐ τῆς στοῦς, οὐδ' ἦς πάτρας
οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἦλθε δάμ' ἐς Αἶδεω,

and *ib.* v. 279

ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων φείδεται οὔτε θεῶν.

The latter example appears to me to give the clue to the much-discussed locus Vergilianus *nec divom parcimus ulli* 'nor do I care for any of the gods.'

The meaning of ἀφειδύν may be traced as follows:—(1) 'to give or spend freely of, be lavish of' with a gen. of something more or less under one's own control such as βίον, χρημάτων, σωμάτων, etc., e.g. *Soph. El.* 980 ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε, (2) absolutely, in the

partep. 'freely, ungrudgingly,' e.g. *Eur. I.T.* 1354—cf. the adv. ἀφειδῶς—(3) 'to act freely or lavishly' with regard to something outside oneself, so 'to be careless, neglectful of, not to reckon of' with a genitive of this object. This use seems to be quite established for later Greek, the question is, does it occur in classical Greek? It will be said that its use in later Greek is no warrant for its use in classical Greek. True, but it makes a *prima facie* case for the use in classical Greek, and is perhaps of more avail to support a text than a conjecture. However I venture to think that we have at least two examples of this third use of ἀφειδύν in classical Greek. One is in *Soph. Antig.* 414 εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόνον. Here Bonitz has conjectured ἀκρδησοί, in which he has been followed by Dindorf, Mekler and Prof. Jebb. Bonitz however chiefly relies upon Choeroboscus, for he says 'Die einzige Stelle welche eine Beweiskraft haben könnte ist entfernt, indem Merkel aus Chöroboskos ἀκήδησαν für ἀφειδήσαν geschrieben hat,' but, as we have seen, *Apoll.* ii. 98 is by no means 'die einzige Stelle' even in Apollonius. Prof. Jebb remarks in his note ad loc. that ἀφειδύν πόνον could mean only 'to be unsparing of labour,' but, with all respect to him, the phrase seems exactly similar to ἀφειδήσαντας ἀέθλων quoted above from Apollonius where there is no doubt about the meaning. It is not therefore absurd to suppose that ἀφειδύν πόνον could also mean 'to neglect the labour.' The other place is *Thuc.* iv. 26 where it is said of the helots attempting to land provisions on Sphacteria τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει, 'their landing was made recklessly,' without regard to consequences, because, as we are immediately told, their boats were valued at so much money. If *Thuc.* can thus speak of a κατάπλους ἀφειδῆς there seems no reason why he could not have said also ἡφειδήσαν τοῦ κατάπλου 'they were careless of the landing.' It appears to me that the passages from Sophocles and Thucydides support one another, and so in fact Prof. Campbell takes them.

I may perhaps take this opportunity of noticing two other points where my critic in *Hermathena* takes me to task. In the critical note on i. 110 I quote Rzach's conjecture ἦλνθ' ἐλδομένοισιν for the text ἦλνθεν ἐλδομένοισιν. I think it highly improbable, but I do not see why it is called an 'impossible ending for a Greek hexameter.' I do not see why it is more objectionable than μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν (*Il.* 10, 317), the rule against the trochaic

caesura of the fourth foot not applying where the line ends with a word of four or more syllables.

In ii. 1260 ἐννύχιοι δ' ἄργοιο δημοσύνῃσιν ἴκοντο Φᾶσιν τ' εὐρὺ ρέοντα κ.τ.λ. the word δημοσύνῃσιν is a correction of George D'Arnaud for ἀλμοσύνῃσιν and this correction has been adopted by Brunck and every editor since. It is however considered by the critic referred to 'not even probable.'

On the other hand it appears to me a *certissima emendatio* (as Wellauer calls it), both on the ground of sense—and the Scholiast explains τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ—and on account of the obvious resemblance in uncials between αλ and δα. In short, as Merkel says, 'δαμμοσ. restituit G. Arnaldus.'

R. C. SEATON.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.

I.—ACCIDENCE.

THE following notes are collected from a reading of recently published papyri, as given below.¹ They do not profess to be in any way an exhaustive grammar of the papyri, for the reading was undertaken solely with an eye to the grammatical illustration of the New Testament, and phenomena which had no bearing on this were only observed ἐν παρίργῳ. The ground has been occupied, quite exhaustively for the small part of it attempted, by Mayser in his *Programm Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, i. Teil 1898 (only Phonology); and Deissmann in his two well-known works has touched on grammar to some extent, though dealing mostly with

vocabulary. There is however plenty left to glean, if only because no less than four volumes of texts have been published since the *Neue Bibelstudien* by the untiring energy of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt—apart from the *Amherst Papyri*, the literary character of which makes them unsuitable for the purpose of this investigation—, while the *Berliner Urkunden* have been steadily growing in bulk all the time. For completeness, I have generally put in all my material, independently of Deissmann's notes, where they cover the same ground. I write under the disadvantage of not knowing what additional material has been brought into the forthcoming English edition.

I.—Orthography.

The ordinary rules for division of words are very generally observed in the papyri. The close attachment of prepositions to their noun comes out strikingly thereby: thus we have κα-τ' ἔτος, κα-θ' ἑκάστον, ἐκ τοῦ, and similarly ὡ-ς ἂν, οὐ-κ (five times in one document)—ἐξ-ντιμύσεως (= ἐκ συντ.) in RL illustrates the same principle.² There are a good many irregularities—such as τοῦ σοῦ γ-ῶναι FP 123 (1/2), φάσ-ιν OP 294 (1/, an uneducated writer, as the editors observe), ἀποκαθεσ-ταμένον G 18 (2/ B.C.), γεγρα-μμένα BU 827, δρα-χμάς, etc.—, but I have made no list of them. See Grenfell's note, RL p. 82.

In verse we sometimes find elided vowels written as in Latin: see exx. in Mayser *op. cit.* p. 38. Add IMA i. 1037 [τίς μ] ἐν ἐγῶ παιδων, τοῦ δ' ἐ, ἡ λῖος ἐγγραφος α]ῖτη. This supports the MSS writing of the quotation in I Cor. 15⁸³, χρηστὰ ὁμλίαι.

² If the dignity of the C.R. will permit it, we might quote our cockney's 'not a t'all, not a bloomin' t'all.'

¹ The following abbreviations are used:—
Papyrus Collections.

BM = British Museum Papyri, ed. F. G. Kenyon.
BU = Berliner Urkunde, 3 vols., ed. Wilcken, Krebs and Viereck (3rd vol. 5 parts have appeared).

CPR = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, ed. Wessely.

PP = Petrie Papyri, ed. Mahaffy.

RL = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ed. Grenfell.

G = An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment etc., ed. Grenfell.

GH = Greek Papyri, second series, ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

OP = Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 2 vols., ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

FP = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, ed. Grenfell and Hunt.

Eud. = Eudoxus Papyrus, ed. Blass.

Dresd. = Die griech. Papyri Sachsens, ed. Wessely, (in *Berichte der Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, 1885) p. 278.

Miscellaneous.

WM = Winer-Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*.³

WH = Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament.

Deissmann BS = *Bibelstudien*, NBS = *Neue Bibelstudien*.

IMA = Inscriptiones Mariae Aegaei, vols. i. and ii., ed. de Göttingen and Paton.

Centuries A.D. are denoted by 1/, 2/3, etc.: earlier centuries have B.C. attached.

Irrational ι adscript ($\xi\chi\omega\iota$, $\gammaεν\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega\iota$, etc.) is extremely common in 1/ B.C. and 1/, and occasionally in 2/: except in the earlier papyri, this unpronounced ι is impartially omitted both where it should and where it should not stand. See Blass *Pronunciation* 48–50, and Kenyon's note, BM ii. p. 179.

$\sigma\sigma$ and $\tau\tau$ seem to defy any attempt to reduce them to rule. The former greatly predominates, but there are words in which both occur. Thus in Eud. (2/ B.C.) $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ and $\xi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ have about equal shares. In CPR 188 (2/) $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ almost immediately follows $\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$. I give here most, I hope, of the occurrences of $\tau\tau$, with dates: $\delta\ \beta\omicron\nu\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ may form a theory.

$\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ etc. 20 times (2/1 B.C., 2/ B.C., 1/, 1/, 2/, 2/, 2/3, 2/3, 3/, 3/ *bis*, and 9 not dated); $\eta\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ twice (2/, 4/5); $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ once (3/). $\xi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ 7 times (2/ B.C., 2/ B.C. *bis*, 3/ B.C., 1/, 2/, 3/); $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ 6 times (1/ B.C., 2/, 2/, 6/, 6/, Byz.); $\xi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\omega$ 1/2 *bis*; $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\acute{o}\omega$ (or $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{o}\omega$) 16 times (2/ B.C. *ter*, 1/, 1/, 1/, 1/, 1/, 2/ *bis*, 2/, 2/, 2/, 2/, 2/, 6/7); $\xi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ 5 times (1/ *bis*, 1/, 2/, 2/); $\xi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\alpha$ none. $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ *passim*; $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$ 6 times (2/ B.C., 2/ *ter*, 6/, 7/). $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega$ thrice (all 2/) in G, GH, OP and FP; $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega$ thrice (3/, 4/5, 6/). Isolated $\tau\tau$ may be named for which I have not entered $\sigma\sigma$ parallels:— $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ 3/4, $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau(\omicron\nu\iota)$ 6/7, $\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 4/, $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$ 6/7, $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$ 4/, $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\tau[\dots]$ 2/. In BM 46 (4/) both $\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ and $\gamma\lambda\acute{o}\tau\tau\alpha$ occur. See WH *App.* 148 f.

$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ after relatives and conjunctions is by far the preponderating form. It occurs G 18 (132 B.C.) BM 220 *bis* (133 B.C.) and BU 548 (27 B.C.), four times, against eight cases of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in B.C. papyri. The balance is rapidly turned, for in 1/ we have $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 25, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 7, in 1/2 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 4 $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 0, in 2/ $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 76 $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 9, in 2/3 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 5, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 1. Then there is a sudden drop, which however means rather that the construction is going out of favour than that $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is markedly recovering. In 3/ we have $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 9, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 3, with 1 from 3/4. In 4/ $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 4, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 8. We find $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ last in BU 303 *bis* (586 A.D.). There are 5 occurrences of it in undated documents, and 2 of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (a Byzantine papyrus). It is clear that this use is a fashion of the first and second centuries, during which period $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ was perhaps in the main literary. As late as 216 A.D. (CPR 35) we find $\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$, with the ϵ deliberately added. A curious feature is the absence of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ from FP, except $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\alpha\iota$ (a unique construction) in 126 (4/), and $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ (almost equally unique) in 130 (3/), although two-thirds of the documents belong to these two centuries: we have $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ three

times, but in late documents. (The phenomenon is parallel with the absence of the articular infinitive in this volume (*one ex. noted*), though the evidence of the other collections shows that it was used constantly in the popular speech.) I might give the references for $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in the period of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$'s reign. From 1/, $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ BM 256, $\delta\omicron\epsilon$ (= $\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$) $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ BM 285, $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ BU 112, CPR 1, 11, $\delta\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ CPR 4, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ OP 267. From 2/, $\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ BU 71, $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ 747, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (*sic*) BU 741, $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ CPR 191, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ OP 237, $\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ BU 372, $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ BU 619, $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ 775, $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ OP 117 (2/3). Some of these (notably BU 775) are very far from being literary, but where spelling is very wild we are not compelled to take much account of so small a difference. It seems fair to conclude that $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in cents. 1/2 was written by those who were particular about correctness, and that N.T. writers therefore used predominantly the popular $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

Two combinations only need be mentioned in this context, and they belong strictly to syntax. In OP 105 (Hadrian's reign) $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ <\acute{\epsilon}\>\chi\omega$ seems due to the simple substitution of $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota$ for $\delta\omicron$. But BU 326 (194 A.D.) $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\eta$, and $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$, seem to show a kind of splitting of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *if* into $\acute{\epsilon}\iota + \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (with the usual substitution of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu$), such as might well be encouraged by the prevalent annexation of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for another use. Probably the same thing has happened in 1 Cor. 7⁵ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \mu\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\ (\acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu})$ WH). Add for this BM 233 (345 A.D.) $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu}$ (virtually = $\delta\omicron\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu}$) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\eta\varsigma$, and FP 130 (3/) $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \dots\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, quoted above, to which the same explanation applies. The other peculiarity is the declension of $\delta\omicron\sigma\omicron\iota\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\omicron\sigma\iota\ \text{or}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota}$ in a very common formula, the relative agreeing with its antecedent in *case*: e.g. BU 177 (47 A.D.) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\ \eta\ \delta\omicron\sigma\omega\mu\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$, BU 197 (18 A.D.) $\delta\omicron\sigma\omega\mu\ \acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota}$.

$\acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu}$ for $\acute{\acute{\alpha}\nu}$ is naturally rare: I can only quote FP 116 (2/), OP 119 (2/3), BU 38 (2/3), 816 (3/). The scholarship of these documents is almost equally elementary, so that we gain no real support for a classical survival in six passages of St. John (WH), though the negative evidence has little weight against it.

$\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and similar phenomena are very common. For N.T. parallels see WM 48 n., WH *App.* 143 f.; for the general theory Schweizer *Gram. d. Pergam. Inschr.* 116 ff. The *exx.* I have noted are as follow:—

καθ' ἑτος:—Eud. (2/ B.C.); BU 197 *ter* (1/); BM 335, FP 95, CPR 31 *quater*, BU 538, 717, 782 (all 2/); CPR 47 (2/3); BM 483 (7/). ἐφ' ἑτη BM 306, BU 538, FP 95 (2/).

ἐφιδεῖν:—OP 44, FP 113 (1/); BU 647, 733, OP 50 (2/); OP 53 *bis* (4/).

οὐχ ὀλίγος:—BU 72 (2/); BU 146 (2/3).

μεθ' ὀλίγον:—BU 388 (2/).

ἐφιορκεῖν:—BU 543 (1/ B.C.); OP 240, 260 (1/).

καθ' ἰδιόγραφον:—OP 70 (3/).

τῶν ἐφεικόστων:—RL 56 (3/ B.C.).

Εἴ μὴν. To Deissmann's two exx. add OP 240, 255, 259, 260 (1/). This form is thus fairly established as vernacular Greek in the first century. In RL (3/ B.C.) ἦ μὴν occurs.

Αἰεὶ occurs eight times in CPR (undated) in a standing formula: Mayser, p. 16, seems to regard it as extinct.

Ἐχθές FP 108 (2/), ἐκθές FP 123 (1/2), but χθές BM 214 (3/).

Οὐθείς, μηθείς, etc., are naturally abundant: I give only exx. dated B.C.:—RL *passim* (3/); PP 13, 17, 18, 19 (3/); GH 14 (3/); BM 3, 19, 21, 23, 34, 42, 219, 222 (all 2/); G 11 (2/). Add IMA i. 677 (3/, Rhodes), ii. 15 (3/, Mytilene). See Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³ 146.

Αἰτός and its compounds frequently show the change of *av* to *ā*, on which see G. Meyer³ § 121 and Dieterich *Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. gr. Spr.* 78 f. In BM 262 (1/) *ατης* is corrected above the line. *ατών* occurs in BM 240 (4/), BU 841 (Byz.). Exx. of *εματ.* come in G 45, 46 (1/ B.C.), OP 219, 281 (1/), BU 827 (undated); of *σατ.* in FP 119 (1/), BU 380 (3/); of *ιατ.* in BM 276, 445, OP 295, BU 183 (*τερ*, but *εαντ.* *quater*), 197 *bis* (all 1/). In OP 41 (3/4) *Ἀγοῦστροι* *ter*: see Kenyon's note BM ii. p. 274. In Lc. 21 *Ἀγοῦστρον* is found in NC*Δ.

Τέσσαρες and τεσσαράκοντα are overwhelmingly predominant, and the exceptions are often in ill-spelt documents. Τέσσε[ρα] occurs BU 133 (2/), and τέσσερας CPR 242 (1/), but there are no parallels till the Byzantine age (BU 682, 751, 796, 838, OP 145, 149). For τεσσεράκοντα (and -κοστός) may be quoted, from 1/, BM 262 (τεσσαρ. *bis*), CPR 219, 220; from 2/, BU 68, 69, 86, 102 (also τεσσαρ.), 213, 416, 465 *ter*, 834, CPR 29, FP 93; from 3/, FP 61, CPR 2031; from 3/4, OP 9; from 4/, CPR

2016, BM 248; with Byz., BU 308, OP 143, 149. There are thus less than twenty exx. of this spelling in documents antedating the oldest uncials of the N.T. Against this, from 1/ to 4/ alone, I count over fifty occurrences of τεσσαρ., in addition to those in BM and CPR, which I neglected to count up. The papyri would seem to supply decisive evidence for τεσσαρ. as the 1st cent. form: for the evidence of the N.T. uncials see WH *App.* 150, Tischendorf-Gregory iii. 80.

Ἄραβών has ρρ in FP 91 *bis*, BM 143 *bis* (1/), 334 *bis*, BU 240 (the only one quoted by Deissmann), BM 334 *bis* (ρ once) (all 2/), BM 239 (4/), OP 140 (6/) *bis*. For ἀραβών (as to which Deissmann criticises WH) we have OP 299, FP 91 (1/), BU 446 *bis* (= 80), 601, BM 334 (2/), GH 67 (3/), CPR 19 *quater* (4/). Deissmann has only the exx. from BU and CPR, so that the quotations for ρρ are raised from 1 to 12, those for ρ from 8 to 11.

Ἄρρην etc. greatly predominates over ἄρσην. For the former I count 12 occurrences of ἄρρην and ἄρρηνικός between 1/ and 3/, with three later; for the latter, only ἄρσενικόν OP 38 (1/, but the companion document 37 has ἄρρ.), ἄρσενες BU 826 (2/3), ἄρσενόθελος BM 121 (3/). Ἐθάρσησαν occurs BM 354 (1/ B.C.): on the other hand βύρσον appears as βύρρον in BU 814 (3/).

Χιτών has χιθῶνα BU 816 (3/), κιτών FP 108 *bis* (2/), OP 155 (6/). So κύθρα BM 46 (4/).

Σφυρίς BM 190 (3/ ?), σφυρίδαν BU 814 (3/), σφυρίδες *duodecies* FP 102 (2/), σφυρίδια CPR 47 (2/3), σφυρίτιν (= -ιδιον) BU 247 (2/3), may be quoted for the spelling adopted by WH. (See Blass *N. T. Gr.* 24.) Deissmann NBS 13, BS 157, gives the last two of the above, and one from PP (3/ B.C.), with one from the same source for σφυρίδιον. I have noticed no exx. of σπ., except Louvre 62 (3/ B.C.).

Λεγεών is found OP 276 (1/), BU 21 (4/); λεγιών BU 113 (2/); λεγιών BM 142, 256 (1/), BU 140, 272 (2/), BU 156 (3/).

Ταμείον occurs in PP 21 (3/ B.C.), and 20 times in 1/ to 3/; against this only once ταμείον BU 106 (2/). Φαι[λο]νίων BU 816 (3/), restored by Wilcken, gives us the metathesis seen in φελόνης 2 Tim. 4¹³. Γίνομαι and γινώσκω always from PP (3/ B.C.) down, except once γινώσκοντες BM 233 (4/).

'Εραννά OP 294 *bis* (1/), 67 (4/), as in WH. So ἐρανηταῖς *ter* FP 104 (3/).

Λήμφομαι, -λήμφις, -λήμπτω, etc., almost invariably in papyri, except in RL (3/ *v.c.*), and even there one of the dozen scribes uses these forms. In 2/ *v.c.* there are exx. of the older spelling, ἀντιλήψεως G 15, BM 45. In BU 194 (2/) ἐμπειριληπτai is corrected by adding μ above the π. They are formed on the same principle as the Ionic λάμφομαι, which goes a step further in assimilating λήφομαι and λαμβάνω, but are clearly independent.

II.—Inflections.

First and Second Declensions.

-αρχος and -άρχης. For -ος note πεντακοσίαρχος PP 11, 13 (3/ *v.c.*), κασίαρχος BM 474 (2/), ἑπαρχος FP 21 (2/), BM 245 (4/ *al.*), ἐναρχος BM 233 (4/), and cf. φύλαρχος and γυμνασίαρχος IMA i. 127 (1/ *v.c.*). For -ης there are ἰαρχός PP 16 *bis* (3/ *v.c.*), νομάρχης RL *quingies* (3/ *v.c.*) BU 733, FP 88 (2/), τοπάρχης RL *ter* (3/ *v.c.*), OP 254, 255, 382 (1/), κωμάρχης RL (3/ *v.c.*), ἱππάρχης OP 277 *bis* (1/ *v.c.*): cf. πολεμάρχον IMA i. 99 (2/), κωμάρχας *ib.* 128. ἑκατόνταρχος appears in BU 21 (4/), 283 (2/), 390 *bis* (3/); ἑκατοντάρχης BU 436 (2/3), BM 276 (1/).

Heteroclis in foreign names is seen in Κερκεσούχ, ἀπὸ Κερκεσούχων GH 45 (2/), εἰς Κερκεσούχα, ἐν Κερκεσούχων FP 113 f. (1/). In GH 74 (4/) Τεντύρη, against usual Τέντυρα n. pl. Cf. Mt 23 against 21. Ἀκύλα gen. BU 71 (2/), but Ἀγρίππον BU 511 (1/) (contr. Ἀγρίππα in Ac 25²³).

Ἄλως gen. ἄλω OP 101 (2/) and I think elsewhere: the N.T. has only ἄλων, 3rd decl. In BU 146 (2/3) we have ἄλωνία. Note τὴν ἄλωι BU 698 (2/).

Ἀρούρης is an extremely common type: indeed it may be said that the normal declension of nouns in -ρά and -νία is nom. -α, acc. -av, gen. -ης, dat. -η. The only ex. *v.c.* is the irregular καθήκους BM 41 (161 *v.c.*). From 1/ we have ἐδύης (= εἰδυῖς, which occurs *passim* in a recurrent formula), ἀρούρης 6 times, λείτρης 3 times (against λείτρας 11 times), μεταποιῖς and μετῆλλαχῆς. From 2/, μοίρης 6 times (1/2), ἀρούρης 18 times, σπείρης 10 times, -νίης 5 times, -νίη 4 times. From 3/ ἀρούρης 3 times, which occurs 5 times in 4/ and once in 7/. From 4/ σφύρη twice, Ἀντιοχίη (with nom. -ία). Not coming under this category are χώρης (= χώρας) from 1/, στερήν (*sic*) from 2/, ἡμέρης μῖας from 2/ and from 3/, μελαίνην 2/, τετελευτηκινήν 3/, δεσποίνην 3/4, διαίτην 6/7,

which are so few relatively as to be fairly assignable to individual blundering. (*Exceptions* to the norm stated are εἰδυῖας twice in 1/, -νίας and -νία 7 times in 1/, ἀγνῖα 7 times in 1/, -νίας once in 2/, and one solitary case of ἀρούρας from 4/ (OP 102). The exceptions after 1/ are no more considerable than ἀδελφῶι (1/) and λεγούσας (gen., 3/). It seems unnecessary to call these Ionisms (with G. Meyer³ 95 n). The phonetic law which in Attic changed ρη to ρᾶ became extinct early, as words like κόρη (for κόρῃ) show, and analogy would naturally tend to make all -ᾶ nouns go together. The converse process produced Νύμφᾶν (Col 4¹⁵), by the help of the old vocative νύμφᾶ: see my discussion, *Camb. Philolog. Soc. Proc.* Oct. 26th 1893. Dieterich (p. 172) quotes Δούλα, which is like Νύμφᾶ.

Θεέ voc. BM 121 (3/), as in Mt 27⁴⁶.

Χόες from χοῖς regularly: like νοῖς and πλοῦς in N.T., the word has followed βοῖς.

The types κύρις, κλειδῖν (on which see Brugmann *Grundriss* ii. § 63 n.) are common in the papyri from 2/ down. I have counted nearly fifty of them, some two-fifths being Latin words or names, which suits Hatzidakis's view that the Latin voc. in -ī was the starting-point, Περώνιος coming from Περώνι as Εὐπολις from Εὐπολι (*Neugriech. Gram.* 318): it ought to be mentioned however that voc. in -i never occurs, as far as I have seen—κύριε *passim*, never κύρι. We have a 3/ *v.c.* ex. in [ἡ]μῶν RL 54, where see Grenfell's note and parallels.

Third Declension.

The acc. pl. in -ες is extremely common. Τέσσαρες occurs on a Fayūm ostrakon from 1/ *v.c.*, and from papyri of 1/ and later some forty times. Πάντες follows at an interval, with a third as many, generally in the epistolary formula τοὺς ἐνοίκους πάντες or the like. Other words affected are στατήρες (1/, 2/3, 3/), μῆνες (2/), γυναῖκες (2/), ὁμολογούντες (1/, 1/), λυμητρίδες and θρίνακες (1/2), χῆρες (2/3), φιλοῦντες (2/, 2/), ὄντες (2/), ὑγαίνοντες (2/3), πράκτορες (1/), τέκτονες (3/), φίλακες (*sic*, 1/). In FP 95 (2/) we have χοεῖς for χόας. Of course πόλεις and βασιλεῖς are earlier exx. of the same thing. In BU 814 (3/) we have φιλοῦντος, 819 (3/) τέσσαρος, 834 (2/) ἅπαντος *bis*, acc. pl.

Acc. sing. in -av is very common, especially in the more illiterate papyri: cf. WH *App.* 157. Sometimes the correct form stands in the same document. From 1/ we have χάριταν (BU 596), Προλεμαῖαν *bis*, and

(as often in Attic, G. Meyer³ 428) *Θεογένην*, *Διογένην*: add *γυναῖκαν* IMA i. 995. From 2/ *Διωγενίδαν*, *Καρανίδαν* *bis*, *παῖδαν* *bis*, *θυγατέραν* and *μητέραν* *ter*, *σφραγίδαν*, *γυναῖκαν*, *χέραν*, *μερίδαν*, *ἄπανταν*. From 2/3 *χεῖραν*, *μηδέναν*, *μητέραν*, *γυναῖκαν*, *πατέραν*. From 3/ *χεῖραν* *quater*, *πόδαν*, *χέραν*, *ἀστέραν*, *σφυρίδαν*, (*ὑγιήν* καὶ *ἀσινήν*). So *φάρανγαν* *Amh. Pap.* 7 (5/).

Μήτηρ voc. BU 814 (3/) *ter*: cf. WH *App.* 158.

Nom. *εὐθύριν* GH 32 (2/ B.C.), BM 14 (1/), etc., is parallel with *ὠδὴν*, *δελφίαν*, found in the *Κοινή*.

Nom. *ὤς* is formed from *ὠτός* GH 15 (2/ B.C.).

Ἐλαιὼν -*ωνος* occurs over twenty times in papyri between 1/ and 3/, which discounts Blass's suspicion of the MSS in *Ac* 1¹². See Deissmann *NBS* 36 ff.

From *κλείς* come *κλέιν* PP (3/ B.C.), *κλειῶδα* OP 113 (2/), *κλειδὸς* BU 75 (2/), *κλείς* acc. (*ib.*), *κλειδᾶς* BU 253 (3/).

Ὀρνις has dat. *ὄρνιξι* several times in BM 131 (1/), a Doric form. See WH *App.* 149.

Χάριτα and *χάριν* occur together in BU 48 (2/3): the former occurs in BM 141, 406 (4). Cf. IMA ii. 35 (1/ B.C.) and classical exx. in L. and S.

Adjectives.

Ἀργυρῇ BU 388 (2/) illustrates *χρυσᾶν* in Rev. 1¹³ **Ν*** AC: the pair naturally influenced one another, but neither was strong enough to fix the form for both. In BM 124 (4/5) *χρυσᾶν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν* occurs. See also Dieterich p. 180. Uncontracted forms *χρυσέω* etc. (as in WM 72 n.) appear in IMA i. 918 (1/2), 937 (1/), 922 *al.*

Ἥμιους (often *ἡμυσ.*) makes *ἡμίση* *bis* BM 265 (1/) and *ἡμίσιους* always, unless Wessely rightly restores [*ἡμισέ*]-*ως* CPR 224 (4/). With this contraction cf. *πηχῶν* BM 293, 191 (2/), *al.* *Βραδεία* BU 446 (2/), *βαθεία* BU 781 (1/). Note *ἡμεσίᾳ* OP 277 (1/ B.C.).

Υγιῇ in OP 278 *bis* (1/), 113 (2/), BU 13 (*ὑγιήν*, 3/); *ὑγιᾶ* never.

The indeclinable *πλήρης* is fairly common: cf. WH *App.* 24, on Mc 4²⁸, and C. H. Turner in *Journ. of Theol. Studies* i. 120 ff. and 561 f. *Πληρῇ* BM 131 (1/) has to agree with *ἀρούρας*. BU 81, 707 f., OP 237 support it for 2/; GH 69, BU 13, 373 *bis*, FP 88, for 3/; GH 75, BM 251 (*πληρες* neut. pl.), BU 411, for 4/; and

there are the late BU 319 (7/), 371 (Arab), BM 392 (6/7).

Τάχειον (as WH) in BU 451 (1/2), OP 113 (2/), BU 417 (2/3). So the curious form *ἐντάχειον* BU 814 (3/), 826 (2/3) *bis*, 601 *ἐνδάχιον* (2/3). *Ταχύτερον* BU 615 *bis* (2/), 816 (3/). *Θᾶπτον* OP 122 (3/4).

Double comparison in *μειζότερος* BU 368 (7/), OP 131 (6/); *πρεσβυτερώτερα* BM 177 (1/); *πρώτιστα* BU 665 (1/); *μεγιστότατος* BM 130 (1/2).

Numerals.

δέκα δύο is normal (over 20 exx. in 1/-4/), but *δῶδεκα* in BU 293 (2/) *al.* So also *δέκα μᾶς* OP 248 (1/), *δέκα τρεῖς*, *δέκα τρία*, (thrice—none of *τρεῖς καὶ δέκα*), and always *δέκα τέσσαρες*, *δέκα πέντε* (from 3/ B.C.), *δέκα ἕξ* (in IMA 3/ B.C.), *δέκα ὀκτώ* (in IMA 2/ B.C.).

13th-19th are regularly expressed (from 3/ B.C.) with *τρισκαίδέκατος*, *τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος*, etc. We have *τρισκαίδέκατος* in BM 45 (2/ B.C.) and *πέμπτος δέκατος* in BU 183, 251 (1/, same hand), but I have noted no other exceptions. We note the variants *τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος* (OP 266, 1/) and *τεσσαρακαίδέκατος* (Eud., 2/ B.C.).

For the ordinals in the next decade we have *ἑνατος καὶ εἰκοστός* BU 174 (1/), *τέταρτος καὶ εἰκοστός* CPR 29 (2/), *πρώτος καὶ εἰκοστός* FP 68 (2/), *ἑβδόμος καὶ εἰκοστός* FP 51 (2/); but [*τεσσαρ*] *καὶ εἰκοστός* BU 188 (2/), *πεντεκαεικοστός* Eud. (2/ B.C.). Add *τετρακαεικοστόν* = $\frac{1}{2}$ in FP 82, 83 (2/), *τετρακαεξηκοντόν* BU 234 *ter* (2/). *Ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκάδι* occurs twice (2/), *ἕκτη καὶ εἰκάδι* once (2/), *ἑβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι* once (2/).

For the antiquity of these phenomena cf. Meisterhans³ p. 159 ff.

Ἀμφὸν in BM 113² (6/7) is doubtless a mere revival.

The supposed Hebraistic use of *μία* (with *ἡμέρα*) for *πρώτη* comes in *τῇ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἑπέφ* BU 623 (2/3).

Cardinals repeated to make a distributive may be seen in OP 121 (3/) *εἶνα δόση τρία τρία καὶ ἑλκύση*. This is of course no 'Hebraism,' though *εἰς καὶ εἰς καὶ εἰς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις* (*Amh. Pap.* 1) may be.

Verbs.

Augment. Note *ἡβούλετο* OP 281 (1/); *ὑπόδεκας* BM 3 (2/ B.C.); *οἰκονομημένον* BU 832 (2/), *οἰκοδομημένην* OP 1 (2/3), but *προσωικοδομήκασιν* PP 26 (3/ B.C.); *ἀποκατεστάθη* OP 38 (1/)—contr. *ἀπεκατέστ.* in NT texts; *συνηργάσατο* BU 530 (1/), *ἠγῶ* (= *ἡργάσατο*) BM 165 (1/) *ter*, but *εἰργάσθαι* BM 139 (1/), *εἰργάσατο* BM 316 (2/), 321 *ter* (2/), 325 *bis* (2/), 166 (2/), *εἰργάσται*—so

GH write, but the aorist is apparently possible) FP 77, 78, 79 (2/). Augment for reduplication in *ἐγραμμένην* BM 122 (4/), *ἐβλαμμένος* G 33 (2/ B.C.), *ἐκτμήνος* BU 587 (2/). Dropped augment (reduplication) in *ἐτοιμάκαμεν* GH 14b (3/ B.C.), *ἀνομολογήσατο* GH 31 (2/ B.C.), *εἰσαγόμεν* GH 78 (4/), *ἀπαιτῆσθαι* BU 21 (4/), *προονομασμένων* CPR 160, *ἀναγκάσθαι* OP 237 (2/). Cf WM p. 86 n. 3.

The curious forms *κατιάξω* etc. (WM p. 82) are paralleled by a noun *κατάγμα* in BU 647 (2/) *bis*. G. Meyer³ 165 quotes *ἔαγμα* from Zonaras and Suidas as 'wohl aus einem Dichter,' which is certainly not the case here. He would interpret it as due to imitation of epic forms with prothetic ε- before initial F.

Inflections.

Strong aorists with α suffixes are common, especially in uneducated writing. (Cf Kenyon's note BM ii. 272.) From 1/ I notice *γενόμενος* (CPR 1 and FP 22), which recurs thirteen times from 1/ to 7/, and *ἤλθας* (BU 530), which is paralleled by *ἤλθα* (3/), *ἠήλθατε* (3/4), *προσῆλθαμεν* (3/), *ἤλθαν* (and compounds) recurring seven times up to 4/, and by *ἐλθάτω* (OP 123, 3/4). **Εσχάμεν* (or *ἀπέσχαμεν*) comes three times between 1/ and 3/, and *ἀπέσχαν* once. **Ελαβα* (and compounds) comes seven times in 2/ and 3/, *παρέλαβαν* once, and *παρέλαβαν* once: add a Byzantine *ἐλαβάμην*. *Εἶδαμεν* occurs once (4/) and *ἐπάθαμεν* once (Byz.); there are also two middles, *ἀνείλαντο* (2/) and *εἰλάμεθα* (3/). The process of assimilating the two aorists active was thus well under way, but not by any means complete.

Imperfects with α suffixes are only five:—*ἔλεγας* BU 595, *προείχαν* GH 41 (1/); *ἐβάσταζαν* BU 454, *ἐποτίζαμεν* BU 698, *συνελέγαμεν* *ib.* (2/).

The aorist -αν has invaded the perfect (see Buresch's well-known paper on *γέγοναν* in *Rhein. Mus.* xlv. 193–232). So (παρ)εἰληφάν G 18, GH 29, BM 17 (all 2/ B.C.), BU 153, 538 (2/ A.D.); *εἶρηχαν* (*sic*) BU 595 (1/), *γέγοναν* BU 596 (1/), *πεπλάνηκαν* OP 119 (2/3), *ἐπιδέδωκαν* BM 17 (2/ B.C.).

The converse process may be seen in *ἐπῆλθαι* BU 275 (3/), and in a small category practically confined to uneducated scribes, *ἀπεγραψόμεν* BU 421 (2/), *ἐγραψες* BU 38, 261 (2/3), *ἤρρηξες* (= *εἰρηκας*) BU 261 (2/3), *οἶδες* BU 380 (3/), *σπουδασέτωσαν* FP 112 (1/), *ἐπεμψε[ς]* BU 814 (3/), *ἀφῆκες* (*ib.*). The 3rd plur. in -οσαν occurs in GH 36 (1/ B.C.) *ἐπελαμβάνουσας*, with which cf. from

the previous century *λαμβάνεσαν* BM 18 and *ἀφίλεσαν* (= *ἀφείλον*) BM 41 (quoted by WM 91 n. 5). Later exx. are *προεγαμύσαν* BU 183, 251 (1/, same hand), and *ἐπῆλθουσας* BU 36 (2/3). I am rather surprised to find so few cases.

Confusion of fut. infin. with aor. is common in the form *ἐπελεύσασθαι*, which in FP 94 (3/) is clearly fut. In G 30 (2/ B.C.) *ἐντετάλμεθα ἀσπασέσθαι*, and BU 830 (1/) *χρῆ οὖν ἐτοιμάσειν καὶ προαιρεῖν*, the present or aor. is wanted. The Attic 3 pl. imper. in -ντων I have not seen anywhere. -τωσαν is very common from 3/ B.C. down. Meistershans³ (p. 167 f) can only quote three exx. of -ντων subsequent to 300 B.C., and it would seem that by 1/ B.C. it was obsolete.

The NT *διδνᾶσαι*, *καυχᾶσαι* (formed afresh from the 3rd sing. by the analogy of the perfect) are paralleled by the future *χαριεῖσθαι* GH 14 c (3/ B.C.), for which we have *χαρίεσθαι* in OP 292 (1/). Side by side with *δύνασαι* we find *δύνῃ* (WM 90) BM 121 (3/), BU 523. Since the forms *δύνομαι*, *δυνόμενος* are not uncommon—BM 45 (2/ B.C.), BU 246, 388 (2/3), BU 159, 614 (3/), OP 131 (6/)—it is easy to explain this as a mere transference to the thematic conjugation. It cannot of course be a survival from the **δύνααι* into which analogy brought back the σ, for this would have been **δύνᾶ*.

The infinitive *χρᾶσθαι*¹ OP 104, 270 (1/) to some extent supports the NT contractions in *πενᾶω* and *διψᾶω*, which naturally followed *τιμᾶω* in later Greek. The papyri give no sufficient support to the active infin. in -οῖν (and by consequence -ᾶν), on which see Blass *Gr.* 48. For it there is only *δηλοῖν* BM 231 (4/); against, *μεταμυσθοῖν* OP 101 (2/), CPR 39 (3/), *ἀξιοῖν* GH 14 (3/ B.C.), BU 136 (2/), *κυροῖν* CPR 104, to say nothing of *βεβαιοῖν* BM 113 (6/) and *ἐκμυσθοῖν* BM 77 (8/).

For the confusion of -έω and -ᾶω (Blass p. 47) cf. IMA i. 127 *ἐνίκει* (1/ B.C.) and 155 *τιμοῖντες* (2/ B.C.).

ἀνοίγω makes aor. *ἡνοίγη* (BU 326, 2/—*ἡνύγη*) as in N.T.

παρωχηκότα ('Epic and late prose,' Veitch) occurs in BU 288 (2/).

ἔξω has completely established itself at the expense of *σχῆσω*, so much so that we even have *παρέξας*, *παρέξαι*, *παρέξασθαι* formed from this stem. This requires me to withdraw a suggestion I once made² that some seemingly aoristic uses of *ἔσχηκα*

¹ Ionic, see Strachan, *Herodotus* vi, p. lix.

² Reviewing Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, in *Meth. Times* for 1895, p. 254.

might be due to the proportion $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$: $\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ = $\sigma\chi\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$: $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$.

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ shows the aorist ($\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\acute{\eta}\xi\alpha$) in BU 81, 607 (2/). The perfect $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\chi\alpha$ comes in OP 283 (1/).

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ is the aorist of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ answer: the N.T. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\nu$ I only note once, BM 121 (3).

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ and $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ agree in showing both dental and guttural forms. Thus $\acute{\eta}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ BU 341 (2/), but $\acute{\eta}\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ BU 759 (2/)—cf. N.T. $\acute{\eta}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\nu$, $\acute{\eta}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$; $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\eta$ BU 46 (2/), $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha\nu$ 157 (2/3) and 769 (2/), but $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ 195 (2/).

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is said by Blass (N.T. Gram. 38) to be 'a word adopted from the literary language.' It is extremely common in the papyri, in formulae and in ordinary speech, in writings of praefects and of slaves: the 'adoption' would seem to have been very thoroughgoing.

From $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$ we have $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ etc.: $\iota\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ occurs BU 163 (2/), in an official paper, where the literary form might be expected. $\iota\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ FP 20 (3/4), $\iota\delta\omicron\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ BU 826 (2/3).

$\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\chi\alpha$ (for $-\kappa\alpha$) is not uncommon: FP 123 bis (1/2), etc.

$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is of course the future of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. In G 21 (2/ B.C.) we have the active $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. The infin. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is common, occurring even in early papyri.

$\zeta\acute{\omega}$ has $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ and $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha\iota$ in Hadrian's letter (FP 19).

$\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ occurs in Kenyon's reading of BM 42 (2/ B.C.): surely we should read $\mu\eta\delta'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, not $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\theta$?

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\pi}\alpha\nu\omega$ occurs PP 14, 15 (3/ B.C.).

$\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ BU 34 (2/3), BM 121 (3/), is from $\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ by the same process as that responsible for $\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\delta\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$.

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ BU 282 (2/) resembles $\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, which is found in N.T. Future $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega$ in PP 16 (3/ B.C.): the $\epsilon\iota$ must not be corrected to ι .

$\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu$ has aor. of $-\eta\nu\alpha$ and $-\alpha\nu\alpha$ form: $\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ FP 119 (1/), $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ RL 44 (3/ B.C.), but $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ BU 388 (2/). Perf. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ OP 117 (2/3).

$\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ has a future $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ FP 64 (2/). The perf. $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\gamma\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$ occurs PP 12 (3/ B.C.), and aor. subj. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\omega$ in the very illiterate BU 246 (2/3)— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\omega$ BU 38 (2/3).

Verbs in $-\mu\iota$.

The perfect $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ (in compounds) is well attested: cf. WM 93, n 3. So $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ Louvre 62 (3/ B.C.), ap. RL; $\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ BM 354 (1/ B.C.); $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ *ib.*; also in

OP 94 (1/), 97, 364 (1/), BM 306 (2/), OP 261 (1/); $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ *ib.*; $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ FP 109 (1/); $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ BU 816 (3/); $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ BM 255 (2/). So $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ in IMA ii. 35 (1/ B.C.). The Attic perf. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ occurs as late as the end of 2/, BU 388, but this does not prove it really current.

There are a good many $-\omega$ forms, as might be expected. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu$ BU 542, CPR 5 (2/), CPR 188 (1/2); $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ CPR 20 (3/). $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ BU 350 (2/); $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ BU 326 (2/), $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\iota\theta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ BM 239 (4/). $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ or $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ BU 261 (2/3), OP 121 (3/); $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ or $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ opt., BM 24 (2/ B.C.)—see Kenyon on the badly spelt duplicate 35); $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ (= $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\iota$ 3 sg. pres.) BU 38 (2/3), $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\iota$ (= $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\iota$ impf.!) BU 602 (2/)¹; also, from unambiguous $-\acute{\omega}$ stem, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (= $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta$, following $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$) BU 44 (2/), $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ BU 86 (2/). In the aorist we have $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ BU 159 (3/), CPR 222 (2/) and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ CPR 191 (2/), (imper. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ BU 360 (2/)). On the other hand the regular $-\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron$ appears in G 25, 33 (2/ B.C.), GH 15 (*id.*), and in OP 172 (1/), BU 415 and GH 59 (2/). For N.T. exx. see WM 95 n. The aor. opt. $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ occurs in (presumably) three out of four copies of Dresd., the fourth having present $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ or $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$. These are best explained as due to the plural, like *sit* for *siet* in Latin.

The subjunctives $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ (from $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\omega$) and $\delta\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (made by proportional analogy, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}$: $\delta\acute{\omicron}\acute{\omicron}$ = $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$: $\delta\omicron\acute{\iota}$), on which see WM 95 n, 360, have good attestation. Mayser (p. 37) quotes $\delta\omicron\acute{\iota}$ from a Petrie papyrus of 240 B.C. For $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ (s) we have FP 124 (2/) $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\eta\ldots$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ (with the familiar υ for $\omicron\iota$); BU 822 (3/) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ldots$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$; For $\delta\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (s), FP 112 (1/) $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ldots$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}$, BU 811 (1/) $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\omega$ $\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, OP 269 (1/) $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ (twice however $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ is for $\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$), BU 741 (2/) $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ [$\acute{\alpha}$] $\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\iota$ — $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron$ [$\acute{\iota}$], BU 246 (2/3) $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ $\delta\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (present sequence). In two identic inscriptions from the early Empire (C.I.A. III. i. 73, 74) quoted by Viteau *Le Grec du N.T.* (1893) p. xxi. we find $\acute{\omega}\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\iota$ (73) replaced by $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\omega}\iota$ in the more correct copy (74).

The infin. $\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ is fairly common: FP 109, BU 824 (1/), 34 (2/), OP 68 (2/) ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$, unless this is really $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ after analogy of present, but $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ in the same document makes mere accident likely), BU 38 (2/3), 326 (2/), 595 (1/— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ again), and probably elsewhere, though not normal.

¹ On the imper. $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ ($\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\iota$) in BU 261 (2/3) see Deissmann NBS 20: like $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\iota$ it is, he rightly thinks, formed from the $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ analogy.

Subj. δώσω comes in BU 635 (2/) εὖν δὲ μὴ ἀποδόσω, BM 121 (2/) εἴπης καὶ δώσης.

From εἰμί we have ἤμην G 21 (συνήμην, 2/ B.C.), OP 285 (1/), as in N.T., and a further parallel in the alternation of ἔστω and ἦτω (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³ 274). ἦτω occurs BU 276 (2/3), 419, BM 121 *ter* (3/), BM 46 (4/); but ἔστω BU 543 (1/ B.C.), OP 265, 270 *bis* (1/), CPR p. 19 (3/), BM 233 (4/), 121 (3/, παρέστω, but ἦτω *ter*). Ἔστωσαν is in PP 14 (3/ B.C.), OP 265, CPR 1 (1/). A curious substitution of ἦν for ἦ is common: BU 543 ὅσων εὖν ἦν (1/ B.C.); 300 κἂν δέον ἦν, 820 ὅταν ἦν..., δηλώσω, BM 324 ὁπόταν ἦν (all 2/); BU 48 εὖν μὴ ἐνῆν, 246 μελίσσάτω ὑμῖν πῶς ἄλυσος ἦν, OP 63 ἴνα...ἦν (all 2/3). In FP 124 (2/) εἰ καὶ γράμματα μὴ ἦν may be another ex., for the scribe has no objection to εἰ c. subj., and the 'fourth' kind

of conditional sentence is not common. N.T. uncials show this phenomenon: C* Matt. 10¹³, B* Δ Mc. 5¹⁸, D* Lc. 5¹⁴, N* Lc. 20²⁸, A 1 Cor. 16⁴, N 2 Jo.¹². The dropping of final ν—as περιῆ OP 68 (2/), ἀνέβη BU 821 (2/), etc.—is a product of the weakening of a final nasal (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³ 76), which is presumably responsible for its wrong insertion: cf. the irrational ι adscript described above.

From κάθημαι comes 2 sing. κάθη OP 33 (2/): see Brugmann 275, 355.

Verbs in -υμι preserve their unthematic forms in the middle, but have alternative -ω forms in the active much as in Attic: e.g. ὀμνύς GH 79 (3/), BU 21 (4/), but ὀμνύω BU 92 (2/).

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE DELIAN AMPHICTYONY.¹

THERE has been for many years a discussion regarding the composition of the board of Amphictyones which Athens sent to Delos in the early part of the fourth century B.C. The dispute is grounded on an ambiguity in the heading to the accounts presented for the years 377/6–375/4 B.C. This runs as follows:—

[Θ]εο[ι] Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέο ἀρχοντος μέχρι τῷ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς τῷ ἐπὶ Ἱπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δῆλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένους ἀρχοντος μέχρι τῷ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς τῷ ἐπὶ Ἱππῖο ἀρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἤρξεν, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπιόδωρο Σκαμβονίδῃς ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἀπὸ Χαρισάνδρου ἀρχοντος Ἰδιώτης Θεογένους Ἀχαρνέως μέχρι τῷ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τῷ ἐπὶ Ἱπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδου Ξυπεταίων ἐναυτὸν ἐπὶ Καλλέο ἀρχοντος, Ἐπιγένῃ[s] M]εταγένους ἐκ Κοίλης, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθύνόμο Μαραθῶνιος, Ε[π]ικρά[τ]η[s] Μενεστράτο Παλληνεύς.

Accepting this, Dittenberger's punctuation, we have presented to us herewith the accounts of the board for the term beginning with the entrance of Kalleas to the archonship at Athens on the first of Hekatombaion 377/6 B.C. and ending with the month Thargelion in the archonship of Hippodamas 375/4 B.C. The board in office at the end of the term differs in its personnel from the board in office at the beginning of the term.

¹ See for literature Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,² i. No. 86 and p. 641; also the notes.

From the end of the month Hekatombaion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4 B.C.) to the end of the month Thargelion in the same archonship, i.e. to the end of the term, the board is composed of three members only, Epigenes Metagenes' son from Koile, Antimachos Euthynomos' son from Marathon, and Epikrates Menestratos' son from Pallene. From the beginning of Charisandros' archonship (376/5 B.C.) to the end of Hekatombaion in Hippodamas' year (375/4 B.C.), i.e. for thirteen months, the board consisted of the three just mentioned and Idiotes Theogenes' son from Acharnai. For the first year of the term, i.e. for Kalleas' archonship (377/6 B.C.), the board consisted of the three first named and Sosigenes Sosiades' son from Xypete. That is to say, the board consists of four members for the first year, of four members for the next thirteen months, and of three members for the last ten months. Three members hold office for the whole term, one for the first year only, and the other for the second year and the first month of the last year only.

A fact of considerable importance has been hitherto overlooked in the discussion, namely, that the members of the board are mentioned in the official order of their tribes, and that they belong to the last five tribes in that order. Thus Idiotes is from Acharnai (Oineis 6), Sosigenes from Xypete (Kekropis 7), Epigenes from Koile (Hippothontis

8) Antimachos from Marathon (Aiantis 9), and Epikrates from Pallene (Antiochis 10). This is the reason why the term of office (*ὅσον χρόνον ἦρξεν*) of Idiotes is given before that of Sosigenes, notwithstanding that the latter belongs first chronologically.

After the heading which has been quoted above follow the accounts of the board for the term. It is noteworthy in them that no rents for *τεμένη* in Delos or Rheneia were paid in Kalleas' year and that rents on houses were paid in Hippodamas' year only. The houses were those confiscated at the beginning of Charisandros' archonship. Rents would naturally fall due in the following year: so with properties let in Kalleas' year. At the end of the four years' term, however, rents due at that time were included in the receipts from the last year's transactions.

The heading to the accounts for the final year runs as follows: [Τὰδε εἴπραξαν Ἀμφικτιόνες ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἀρχόντος μέχρι Σωκρατίδου ἀρχόντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν δὲ ἡλίοι δὲ ἀπὸ Πανήμο μηνὸς μέχρι Πυρραίου ἀρχόντος, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλυμπιόδωρο Σκαμβονίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, Ἀθηναίων 17 spaces] δὲ Ὁῦθεν, Νικομένης Ἰ[ε]ρωνος Ἀλα[ιεύς], Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένης ἐκ Κοί[λης], Ἀντίμαχος Εἰδυνόμο Μαραθῶνιος, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτο Παλ[ληνεὺς], Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλου, κ.τ.λ.

This is the heading of the accounts for the month of Skirophorion in Hippodamas' archonship (375/4 B.C.) and for the full year of Sokratides' archonship (374/3 B.C.) What follows completes what has previously been submitted, the whole forming the accounts for the four years 377/6, 376/5, 375/4 and 374/3 B.C., i.e. from the time of one great Delia to the time of the next. That the whole four years is looked upon as one term is evident from statements which appear in the accounts viz. *Αἰδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέο, Χαρισάνδρο, Ἰπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου ἐν δὲ ἡλίοι δὲ Ἐπιγένης, Γαλαῖο, Ἰππίο, Πυρραῖο*. cf. l. 120ff. 110ff. The whole account was drawn up by the secretary (who held office for the whole term) for the members in office at the end of the term, care being taken to indicate in how far each member at any time belonging to the board was responsible for the transactions.

For the last thirteen months of the four years the board consists of five members, who are chosen from the last five of the tribes in the official order. In place of the members from Oineis and Kekropis, who

held office for thirteen months and twelve months respectively in the first period, appear two new members from the same tribes. *The inference seems unavoidable that the normal strength of the board was five.*¹ For some reason or other an individual appointed from Oineis failed to serve during the first twelve months of the term. He may have been Idiotes, and if so, came to Delos and began duty at the beginning of the second year. Or Idiotes may have been a new member appointed to replace the delinquent of the first year. Idiotes at any rate serves for thirteen months. He then disappears and for ten months Oineis has no representative. For the last thirteen months it again figures with a new man from Oe.

The first representative of Kekropis, Sosigenes from Xypete, serves for one year only. He then disappears and for two years lacking one month Kekropis has no representative. A new man, Nikomenes from Halai, is then elected for the last thirteen months.

The representatives of Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis remain in office for the whole four years.

Can any reason be urged for the irregularity in the representation of Oineis and Kekropis? We know of disturbances having occurred at Delos at about this time. Thus in line 134 ff. it is stated:

Οἷδε ὧφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ Χ]αρισάνδρο ἀρχόντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν δὲ ἡλίοι δὲ Γαλαῖο, τ[ι]μ[η]μα τὸ [εἰ]πιγε[γ]ρα[μ]μένον [καὶ] ἀειφυγία, ὅτι [καὶ] ἐκ τοῦ ἱερ[οῦ] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ Δηλίο ἦγον τὸς Ἀμφικτιόνους καὶ ἔτιπτον.] Then follows a list of seven Delians fined a thousand drachmae each. The penalty was inflicted in 376/5 B.C., the crime may have been committed earlier. It may be that in the disturbances herein mentioned we have the reason why individuals shirked the service. Those who faced the danger and were beaten naturally wished to give credit to whom credit was due, hence the precision of statement.

The fact that this board of five was chosen from the last five tribes in the official order is instructive as to how boards of five² generally were distributed among the tribes. With boards of ten there was no difficulty: one was chosen from each tribe. Boards of five were chosen, one year or term from the first five tribes, and the next year or term from the last five. At least such was

¹ This was already Dittenberger's view.

² The *δοσισοί* and the *εἰσαγωγεῖς*, for example.

probably the case. Aristotle¹ in speaking of the choregi, for example, says: *Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὲν (χορηγοί) εἰς Διονύσια κατὰ φυλὰς, εἰς Θαργῆλια δὲ δυοῖν φυλαῖν εἰς παρέχει δ' ἐν μ[έρει] ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν φυλῶν.* That this was not always true is shown in the case of the Amphictyones themselves; for in 341/0 B.C.² the board, though still consisting of five members and a secretary, was made up from the following tribes: Leontis (4), Oineis (6), Pandionis (3), Antiochis (10), Akamantis (5), Akamantis (5).

From the fact that in the four years 377/6-374/3 B.C. the last five tribes are represented, it is natural to think that another four years term had preceded in which the first five tribes had held office. This is indeed not a necessary inference, as the group to begin may have been chosen by

¹ *Ath. Pol.* 56, 3.

² *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* viii. (1884), p. 394, n. 7.

lot. That the term under discussion begins with the year 377/6 B.C. is not due to the formation of the Athenian confederacy in the preceding year, but to the fact that 377/6 B.C. was the year following the celebration of the great Delia. Indeed the Delians are wanting among the states which joined Athens in 378/7 B.C. It seems to me probable that the island came into the hands of the Athenians before 378/7 B.C. and perhaps by capture. It is suggested that in 376/5 B.C., or even earlier, the Delians were dissatisfied with Athenian administration.³

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³ The Delians can hardly have rebelled after the naval victory of Chabrias off Naxos in September of 376/5 B.C.

VINDICIAE PROPERTIANAE.

BETWEEN five and six years ago—three years before I succeeded to the editorship of this Journal—my text and critical annotation of Propertius had the honour of being twice noticed at length in the *Classical Review* as a part of the second fasciculus of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* by Mr. T. W. Jackson, *C.R.* 1895, pp. 322 and, as a separately issued text with an enlarged *præfatio*, by Mr. A. E. Housman, *ib.* pp. 350 *sqq.* The fulness care and courtesy of these notices and the interest of many of the points of Propertian criticism which they raised deserved an earlier acknowledgment; but I desired to allow full time for the consideration of the criticisms contained in them, and circumstances have conspired to make the interval longer than I intended. These *Vindiciae* will not deal with matters as to which this further consideration has convinced me that my critics are probably or certainly right nor with those upon which from their nature disputation would appear to be profitless: they will chiefly be directed to points upon which my position has, often very naturally, been misjudged or misconceived and accordingly stands in need of some further elucidation. They will not, however, be confined entirely to the questions raised by the two English critics referred to; but will include notices of passages where, as I have learned from others, my

readings are liable to be misapprehended or upon which emendations of mine without elucidatory comments have since been published in the *Classical Review*.

I will begin with certain places where the issue appears to be one of *palaeographical probability*. But before discussing these, I would draw attention to certain principles of emendation which are not always borne in mind even by professed and experienced emenders.

To take a single example, it is true enough that in Latin MSS. *c* is frequently confused with *g*, *e* and *t*; but this truth is only misleading if we make use of it in dealing with a Latin text which there is no reason to believe has passed through the stages in which these particular confusions were possible. It is therefore a condition of sound emendation in any author that *no Letter-change*, as such, be postulated unless the MS. tradition furnishes evidence that the text passed through a stage at which such change was possible. Of the other causes of corruption it is enough to say that we should employ them as grounds of explanation in the order (*ceteris paribus* of course) of their comparative frequency. For example interpolation is, speaking generally, comparatively an uncommon source of alteration, and we should therefore be loth to assume it in a given case. These are the principles to which I

should require the conjectural correction of Propertius to conform and by which I should wish my own emendations and their rivals to be judged.

I will now endeavour to justify the commendation which Mr. Housman bestows upon this part of the work ('very few of Dr. Postgate's corrections are without probability') by showing that he is mistaken about the instance which he cites as an exception.

III. vii. 60.

attulimus sontes in freta uestra manus?

Here *sontes*, my correction for the MS. *longas*, is said to be diplomatically improbable, and Francius' *castas* on that account to be preferred. The objection and the preference appear to rest upon neglect of the circumstance pointed out in my pamphlet *Upon certain MSS. of Propertius* p. 38 and note 2, that *f* and *l* are confused by the MSS. of Propertius; III. 12, 38 'penelope lelia' for 'penelopef (A)elia,' 23, 22 'figna' for 'ligna' and IV. 8, 68 'fulca' for 'fulc' i.e. 'fulera,' are instances common to all the MSS. while there are others where it appears in single ones. For the confusion of *a* and *e* in terminations is quite well known and found in our MSS. at e.g. II. 16, 29 and 46 and IV. 11, 81: *a*, *i* are also confused in our MSS. e.g. at III. 15, 3, IV. 9, 5. So that the rarer ending *-is* may be the right one to select. So far my emendation assumes two changes both slight and both attested for the MSS. of our author. I turn to the proposal of Francius. It also involves two not improbable changes, *c* for *g* and the omission by haplography of *ras* after *CAS*. Setting off the first pair of changes against the second pair we arrive, in the case of *sontes* or *sontis*, at †*lontas* and, in the case of *castas*, at †*gas*. I will leave it to the reader to determine which of the two corruptions *lontas* or *gas* a scribe is more likely to have made into *longas* and then what meaning there is in the statement that *sontes* is 'without diplomatical probability.' The sense of *sontes* is the same as that of Mr. Housman's apparently now abandoned correction *nocuas*, and the note of interrogation at the end of the line is his too: *sontes* however has this advantage over *nocuas* that it does not involve an unsupported sense of the word.¹

¹ It is of course possible that *longas*—*manus* is simply an unconscious reminiscence of II. 2, 5: but in that case it is impossible to determine what adjective has been extruded, and every scholar may fill up the gap with any word that takes his fancy.

III. xi. 57 sq.

septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi,

femineo extimuit territa Marte minas?

The ground of objection to the *extimuit* in my emendation (*femineas timuit*), though not stated, appears to be a similar one: at all events the question of diplomatical probability must have a prominent place in the treatment of this passage. Now it is easy to see that, if I had changed *femineas* to *femineo* of which I am glad to find not only Mr. Housman but Mr. H. Richards (*Cl. Rev.* 1899, p. 17) approve, and had left *timuit* standing, I should have been guilty of proposing a needlessly violent alteration. Why should a copyist have causelessly changed *femineo* to *femineas*? The word has an obvious construction and *minas* is some distance off. We must seek then for some external ground for the corruption, and my emendation supplies it. The confusion of *x* and *s* (which appears to be in general a phonetic one), is frequent in our MSS. I may illustrate from II. 1, 22 'Xersis' (AFN for Xerxis), III. 10, 6 'minax' (all the MSS., wrongly, in spite of Baehrens, for *minas*), I. 15, 5 'hesternos' AN, 'esternos' DF, 'esternos' V, IV. 1, 66 '(a)estimet' N, 'extimet' the other MSS. *ex* then written *es* and parted from its verb provides the necessary bridge (*femineoes*) for *femineo* to pass into *femineas*. Wrong divisions of words are very common in our MSS.: see I. 6, 15 'cū uitia' N for 'conuicia,' III. 12, 14 'si credunt (ent)' for 'sic redeunt' II. 32, 5 'deportantes sed abitur' N for 'deportant esseda Tibur.' In sense *extimuit* has a distinct advantage over *timuit*, which simply duplicates the notion of *territa*, *extimuit* on the contrary meaning 'she shrank before the menaces.' Compare for the alleged fact v. 42 (ausa) 'et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas,' and for the expression Ov. *Her.* 14, 5 'quod manus extimuit iugulo demittere ferrum, sum rea' 'my courage failed' and the exact parallel in Tib. 2, 6, 50 'aliquas extimuisse minas.' It may be as well to add that the elision 'femine[o] extimuit' is Propertian as in II. 32, 40; cf. v. 31 of this very poem.

III. xxi. 19 sq.

deinde per Ionium uectus cum fessa Lechaee
sedarit placida uela phasellus aqua.

As the MSS. have 'Lechaeo' Guilietus' conjecture 'Lechaei' is said to be more probable than mine on the ground that scribes would have less temptation to alter

Lechaea, especially with so many similar terminations in the neighbourhood to protect it.' The objection is specious enough until we look into it. Assimilation of dissimilar terminations is a familiar phenomenon: a change which results in dissimilation of similar ones seems on the other hand strange. And yet there is nothing remarkable about it. In the first case the scribe is doing his work with some, though insufficient, attention to the context; in the second case he is not concerning himself with it in the least, but copying mechanically or, if you like, letter by letter. Thus in the first case, the context may protect a word; in the second it cannot. As there is a noticeable unwillingness on the part of both *docti* and *indocti*, the unbiassed tiro no less than the experienced scholar, to acknowledge the existence of these dissimilations, I will set down here a few of these that I have observed. In Ovid *Fast.* 6, 68 *matre* stands immediately below *mater* but that did not prevent the Ursinianus from corrupting it to *parte*. At Manilius 2, 2 '*regum regemque*' the first hand of the Gemblacensis has '*rerum r.*' At *Ov. Fast.* 5, 57 regard for a following *hinc* did not hinder the Ursinianus and other manuscripts from going out of their way, as it would seem, to corrupt '*hinc stanti*' to '*instanti*.' And so when we remark that at Catullus 68, 158 '*a quo sunt primo <mi> omnia nata bona*' the vicinity of '*omnia nata*' did not preserve '*bona*' from passing into '*bono*,' nor at Propertius II. 12, 18, '*traice tela tua*,' the vicinity of '*tela*' protect '*tua*' from becoming '*tuo*,' we need no longer think it wonderful if the neighbouring -a's did not preserve '*Lechaea*' from passing into '*Lechaeo*.' But—and here the situation becomes really amusing—Gruetius' emendation is open to exactly the same criticism as mine. I postulate that when the scribe changed '*Lechaea*' he was uninfluenced by the neighbouring terminations in -a, and Gruetius must have assumed the same, because otherwise the '*Lechaei*,' which he thinks original, would have become '*Lechaea*,' not '*Lechaeo*.'

So far '*Lechaei*' has no superiority over '*Lechaea*' and in other points of diplomatic probability I must judge it actually inferior as it postulates a letter-change of which I could find no example in the MSS. of Propertius (although o is apparently corrupted to i by N at II. 10, 23 '*inipes*' and by DV at I. 15, 11 '*multis*') for one which involved only one of the commoner changes; see e.g. Baehrens'

apparatus criticus at I. 13, 32, II. 32, 61, III. 13, 66. I should myself be loth to suppose that *Lechaeo* was due to conscious alteration, but supposing this to be maintained, I should point out that *Lechaei* referring to *aqua* in the pentameter would be at least as difficult as *Lechaei* to copyists who wanted an easy construction. *Lechaea* has a further advantage over *Lechaei* in that, though attested for Augustan poetry (Grattius 227), it is a much rarer word. The accumulation of adjectives with one substantive, even where the terminations are similar, is a feature of Propertius' style. I referred to this long ago in *Select elegies of Propertius* (pp. cv., lxxxix.). It has caused trouble at III. 19, 21 sq. '*tuque, O Minoa uenundata Seylla figura | tendens purpurea regna paterna coma*,' where all commentators take *uenundata* with *Seylla* in spite of Ovid *Met.* 8. 90 sqq., '*proles ego regia Nisi | Scylla tibi trado patriasque meosque penates. praemia nulla peto nisi te. cape pignus amoris | purpureum crinem nec me tibi tradere crinem | sed patrum mihi crede caput*,' which proves it is to be construed with *regna paterna*.¹

I have assumed throughout that *Lechaeo* is corrupt. Its last interpreter (Rothstein *ad loc.*) asks us to believe that *mari* is to be supplied with it as with *Ionio*, that is that a passenger by a P. and O. steamer might describe his arrival in the bay of Naples by saying that he had passed over the Mediterranean (sea) and anchored in the Neapolitan (sea).

I conclude this section with two passages of which I have published corrections in the *Classical Review* which I fear must have seemed licentious to some of my readers. In II v. 3 sqq. Propertius is threatening Cynthia with a fit retribution for her infidelities. He will seek another and a more faithful mistress.

haec merui sperare! dabis mihi perfida
poenas:
et nobis aquilo, Cynthia, uentus erit:
inueniam tamen e multis fallacibus unam
quae fieri nostro carmine nota uelit.

For *aquilo* (which I defended *consule Planco*) *aliquo*, the correction of H. Boscha and Lachmann and now the vulgate, must of course be written. Burmann's *alio* was preferred by Palmer but I believe under a misconception. The adoption of either

¹ I have quoted the last lines because of the strong support which they give to Markland's *purpuream-comam*.

aliquo or *alio* however leaves the emendation of the line unfinished, as *aliquo* has no construction. *Nobis huc uentus erit* is not Latin for *huc nos uentus feret* or anything else. Accordingly I proposed (*C.R.* 1897, p. 405.) *cursus*, which provides *aliquo* with what it lacks. In this connexion *cursus* is a highly appropriate word. It is almost technical of a favourable passage by sea. See Cicero ad Att. 5, 8, 1 '*cursum expectabamus*' 'I am waiting for a passage,' i.e. a fair wind. Ov. Met. 8, 3 '*dant placidi cursum redeuntibus Austri.*' Virg. Aen. 3, 454 sq. '*quamuis incipient socii et ui cursus in altum | uela uocet possisquesinus implere secundos.*' The construction of *aliquo* after the verbal phrase may be illustrated by Cicero ad Fam. 12.6. '*omnis omnium cursus est ad uos.*' The metaphor of a prosperous voyage and a safe arrival in harbour is of course common enough in Propertius; II 14, 29 sq. and III 24, 15 sqq. will do for illustration. The corruption is not difficult to account for, as soon as we have seen that it has arisen from an over-written *r* being mistaken for a nasal stroke, *uētus* and *cū'us*, for which source of corruption I must again refer to my dissertation *On certain Manuscripts of Propertius* p. 34. The mistaking of *c* for *e* has produced much confusion at I 15, 7 '*Eois*' where N has '*et chois*,' while A and F have gone still further astray. How much error it may produce when combined with abbreviation can be seen from II 1, 31 where F has corrupted *c* i.e. *cum* into *ē* i.e. *est*. If *cū'us* was once misread *uētus*, nothing would save it from passing into *uentus*.

III. iv. 3 sq.

Magna, uiri, merces; parat ultima terra triumphos:

Tigris et Euphrates sub iuga uestra fluent.

So I write now. *Tua iura* the MSS. with no variants except that L, the Holkham MS., has *flue* for *fluent*. My proposal assumes the following corruptions, all attested for Propertius (I give specimens only). As regards *iuga, tua*: *t* for *i* as III 8, 29 '*Graia*' '*grata*' MSS., III 5, 41 '*furiae*' '*furte*' F cf. III 14, 30 '*uia*' '*tua*' D, '*āra*' F; omission of *g* III 8, 19 '*in iurgia*' N '*iniuria*' the rest. As regards *uestra, iura*: confusion caused through the well-known compendium of *uestra, āra* here confounded with *iura*, as elsewhere with *ūra* the similar compendium of *nostra*: so at II 25, 40 '*uestra*' DV '*nostra*' FN and, only four lines above the pentameter before us, III 3, 52 '*nostra*'

is given as '*ūra*' in F. So much for these unduly exigent trifles as some may think them: I pass from them to the sense. The unsoundness of the MS. tradition is manifest. Augustus is nowhere addressed in the poem: and Kaisers are not to be thus unceremoniously apostrophised. Of conjectures, Mr. Housman's '*Thybris, et Euphrates sub tua iura fluet*' claims attention first: it is due to it that I should state my grounds for withdrawing the assent which it received on p. 39 of my pamphlet.

Passing over minor considerations, such as the fact that Propertius, when referring to the Tiber, does not use the Greek form, *Thybris*, but Roman ones *Tiberis Tiberinus*, and that the nominative *Thybris* does not appear elsewhere to be used for the vocative, the proposal is open to two serious objections. It offends against lucidity; for what reader would of himself suppose that in *Thybris et Euphrates* the seeming nominative was really a vocative and that the *et* coupled not the Tiber and the Euphrates, but the hexameter and the pentameter? The natural punctuation of the proposed verse would be this '*Thybris et, Euphrates, sub tua iura fluet*' and its meaning the reverse of what its author intended. Secondly, it is out of keeping with the context. It checks the course of Propertius' here rapid and straightforward diction by interposing a sentence which is syntactically obscure and which requires learned comment to make it intelligible. Mr. Housman's conjecture, however, had more to recommend it than any previously proposed—certainly more than Bronkhusius' artificial *sua iura* or Baehrens' strange *noua iura*.

But for the difficulty in *tua*, '*Tigris et Euphrates*' would probably have been left in peace. Their emphatic conjunction is in keeping with the rest of the passage and the two rivers are elsewhere associated, e.g., at Ov. A.A. 1, 223 sq. and there seems to be reason for believing with Heinsius that Claudian in IV. Cons. Hon. 315 sqq. '*uictura feretur | gloria Traiani non tam quod Tigride uicto | nostra triumphati fuerint prouincia Parthi*' was recalling this and the following line. Völpi long ago suggested that Propertius was imitated by Ausonius in the lines of epigr. 31 (4) '*Danuuius penitus caput occultatus in oris | omnis sub uestra iam ditione fluo* and I agree; but these must be taken with their sequel '*omnia sub uestrum flumina mitto iugum.*' Ausonius might have read either *iura* or *iuga* in this line of Propertius, but he could not have read both;

and, as I cannot find for *iura* for the reason already given, I must find for *iuga* and so of course for *uestra*. For the plural compare

Horace *carm.* 2, 6, 2, 'Cantabrum indoctum *iuga* ferre nostra.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

(To be continued.)

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF MARTIAL.

II. (continued from vol. xiv. p. 355).

II. Epist. 1 parum enim tibi praestamus Q: parum enim tibi prestamus P 3 uerbis dicere Q 6 sua imala Q i. 5 peragit P 7 legeres E 8 si licet E ii. 6 chati E iv. 7 matremque Q v. 2 post v. 4 E 3 distingunt Q vi. 2 post v. 3 QF 3 spectasses cato collum Q vii. 1 attale Q (in lemm. AD ACTALVM Q: AD ATTALVM P) 5 attice Q 6 bellus artel. (om. es) E 7 facis attamen Q 8 quid sis om. Q hardalio Q ut vid. xi. 2 sero Q 4 tang. ind. Q 10 quae est QFP xii. 2 quod nūquamque tibi est Q xiv. 1 inquit E 6 phyllirides Q: pyllirides E 13 thermis iterumque iterumque iterumque Q 15 europes tepida Q 17 uector Q xv. 2 harme (et in lemm. AD HARMVM) Q xvi. 4 quid nisi (ex qui misi ut vid.) Q 5 demitte EFQ xvii om. Q xxiii. 2 quid Q: qui FP 3 enim quid ne. (om. mihi) Q xxvi. 2 tuos QP xxix. 1 tenentem QF 3 quotiens Q 10 quid Q legas V: leges E xxx. 3 fidusque Q xxxi. 1 crestinam Q: christinam E xxxii. 3 portat Q 5 lectoria Q: laetoria F xxxiv. 6 pontica QF xxxvi. 3 mitharum Q: mytharum F xxxvii. 1 uersus Q 6 alica Q xxxviii. 2 reddet E xxxix om. Q 1 formosae F xl. 3 nunc Q 5 siccentur QF annus succexit Q xli. 10 manumue Q xliii. 5 furia et F xlv. 2 tres Q 6 set ut Q 11 cum rogeris Q xlviii. 3 et paucos set ut el. Q xlix cum xlviii conflat Q li. 3 non aufert QF lii om. Q 1 loturos E liii. 2 potes Q 8 tanta V liv. 5 malignusque est P lv. 3 sexte colo Q lvi. 1 male audit om. Q lvi. 2 foede Q lvii. 2 saecta E 7 modo (semel) V: m.m. E lxi. 1 tenera Q 3 fastigia Q 5 minimaque in ras. E lxii. 4 quod Q lxiii. 3 amaris Q lxiv. 2 taure Q quis E 8 potest Q lxvi. 4 flagusa Q: phlegusa F 6 insanum Q: sanum F tangat Q 8 tua P lxvii. 4 dicis Q: dicam F lxviii. 9 om. Q lxx. 2 zoile Q quae om. Q lxxi. 5 illud QF lxxii. 4 tullia QF lxxiii om. Q 1 quod fortia E lxxiv om. Q 1 saufelium F 7 ruricolemus Q²) lxxvi. 2 dedit Q lxxix. 1 uocasse P lxxxii. 1 Abscisam sermone fugis quod

Q linguam Q lxxxiii. DE MOECHO NARIBVS TRVNCO Q 3 truncis Q lxxxv. 1 coptae QF lxxxvi. 10 inertiarum F: ineptiarum Q xc. 5 uiuere Q xcii null. lemm., sed non confl. cum xci in Q.

III. ii. 4 madidas Q 11 croceo Q iii. om. Q iv. 7 ueniae E responde poetae E 8 citharoedis E v. 1 rursus Q 10 habere libet Q vii. 2 conglarium Q viii. 1 amat uerum quam thaيدا luscum Q xi. 3 dixi QF 6 amet Q xiii. 1 Dum non uis piscem dum non uis carpere pullos Q xiv. 1 esurit orto cocius E xv. 1 credit Q xvi. 2 tribui E 5 corio] satis est QF xvii. 1 secundus E 3 sabido Q: sabida F xix. 2 pictae QF prata noua Q xx. 5 locus QF 6 hereis E 7 ani coturnis E sopheleis Q 9 tinctus atticos Q: tinctus attico F 10 hui (sic) si ressit Q teri Q 12 rufus QF 14 ambulatue Q 15 pertinet hermis E xxi. 1 notatus Q xxii. 1 aprici Q xxiii. null. lemm., sed non cum xxii confl. in Q 1 recto pueris Q xxiv. 2 grata satis Q 8 manus Q 10 hanc Q xxv. 4 neronicanat (sic) refr. (om. hic) Q xxvi 5 puta ut vid. Q xxix om. Q xxxi. 4 mensa Q xxxii. 1 quereris sed matria Q: quaereris matrinia F 3 nioben o matria Q xxxiv. 2 frigida est E xxxv. hab. Q 2 respices aspicias E xxxviii. 1 te om. E 3 cicerone disertius ipso QF 4 par mihi nemo foro Q 6 norasse neutri Q 12 aliud E xxxix. 2 Iusta EXV xlv. 3 cura Q 4 Quod scire (om. sit) EF: Quod fit scire P: Quod sit scire Q xlv. 1 mensam ph. Q 3 ista Q 5 rhombos Q xlv. 5 cunctos umbo rep. E 6 ingeniumque QF 7 in causam narraueris Q 11 praestabit Q: prestabs (sic) E xlvii. 4 plus illi Q 6 ruris trahent Q 8 possum Q 10 coram Q turris VE: turdis X 12 uictieti l. fabo E 1. 4 ostygarumque E: ossigarumque Q lii. 2 hac E liv. 1 possum Q 2 multos Q: multo E lv. 1 putamque E 2 effusus Q 3 cellia Q lviii. 7 multas E 11 purit E 17 rhodia superbis minas promunt E 18 columpnarum Q 24 carbo Q 26 subdole Q 29 ormis Q: hormis F 37 hinc v.m. hispide uetus Q 42 anara seruatur Q 48 pascentis

Q urbane E 51 uocari (om. debet) Q: uocari debet F lx. 5 pusillos QF lxii. 3 deci Q 7 credis magno Q lxiii. 5 qui et gad. QF 9 missa E lxv. 1 malum tenera Q 3 cum floret Q 7 imber Q: imbrem F 8 nardos parta E lxvi. 1 fartis Q lxviii. 5 hinc Q lxix. 5 lequam iuuenes Q lxxi. 2 sed Q lxxii. 3 pendent a pectore QF 6 cinici Q 8 uicium peius (om. habes) Q lxxiii. 1 mutrinatis (ex -anis) Q 2 phoebe Q 4 te credere Q lxxiv. 2. 6 transp. Q lxxv. 3 bullique E lxxvi. 3 est haec Q 4 echuben Q lxxx. 4 iam E lxxxii. 2 summemia nascentur inter Q 5 galginatus Q 9 cuspidemque lentisce Q: cuspidisque lentisce F 13 corpus (o ex corr. ut vid.) Q 15 habet Q 16 suscitator QF 20 agri Q 25 myrtinisque Q 26 fuscis Q lxxxiii. 1 cordex E lxxxvi. 4 minus QF lxxxvii. 1 te rumor (ex rumor te) chione Q xc. 2 Quid uult E xci. 9 exciduntque Q 11 fama est quondam Q xciii. 2 sint om. QF 10 noctua uidet Q 15 admittit Q 19 uisumque Q 20 si satire ex si s****e Q (Q?) : si satiare V 21 uocauit QF 24 a coridet tr. ut vid. Q 26 ustorque tedes Q xcv. 1 sed rides Q 9 esset ut vid. Q xvi. 3 prendere E xcvi. 1 siculus E xcix. 3 innuocis Q ludere Q 4 non liceat licuit QF c. 4 ille QFP.

IV i. 4 uide Q: uitae F 9 set Q iii. 2 caesaris inque Q 3 multo Q 6 dissimulare Q: —ri F iv. 1 palus QF 12 quod om. QF v. 1 bonus QF uerus QF 7 circa Q 9–10 om. Q vi. 1 castiore E viii. 6 excelsos F 11 gressu timet ire Q 12 matutinos ut vid. Q thalia nostra F: talia nostra Q ix. AD BVLLAM Q: AD FABULLAM E 1 clinici (ex dunicis ut vid.) bulla Q: clinici labulla E 3 exi cawros Q xii. 1 negat EF xiii. 1 nupsit—pudenti Q 9 sedet ipsa maritus Q xiv. 4 fastus Q 14 marino QF xv. 2 meciliane E (in lemm. AD CAECILIANVM) xix. 4 endromiam ex—mia E 12 syndone Q xx ante xviii Q xxi. 3 haec Q: hoc ex hec P xxii. 7 in siluis Q xxiii. 3 gratumque E 6 sic c**ropio (ceir.?) Q 7 romanae scholae F: roma scolae Q xxv. 6 ausit ut vid. Q 7 portus requiesque Q xxvi. 3 uicinos te puto Q xxvii. 2 rogat Q 3 honoratum me Q: honoratum non F xxviii. 3 et totam lepido totam Q xxix. 2 opes F: op** (opes?) Q 3 pudet QF xxx. 5 quid quod Q 9 renuentem Q 13 rogatur E xxxi. 10 hippodamus (us ex corr.) Q xxxii. 3 malorum QF xxxiii. 3 me E xxxiv. 1 dicit TQF 2 dicit TQF xxxv. 3 superbis E xxxvii. 3 sabellus Q 5 ter ducenta Q: reducenta F xxxviii. 1 satiatur Q: sotiatur F ubi QF xxxix om. Q 7 gallanico F xl. 7 honorem QF 9 serum talium Q xlii. 1 locantia E: roganti QF 2 locare FEQ 4 nequitiam QF 6 esse solet QF 9 breuior sit

Q 14 uis E 15 fallis Q 15 diceas (ex—cens) Q xliii. 11 cunnilingium Q xlv. 5 arbor Q xlvi. 7 tressae librae F: tres*elibrae (?tressae) Q 9 lacuna QF 11 bullis E 14 ceno QF xlvii. 1 en castus QF xlviii. 1 phapyre E 2. 4 papyle E (in lemm. AD PAPILVM) xlix. 1 nescis QF sit E 2 putas QF 1. 1 thays Q: thais F 2 thays Q: thai F li. 2 late Q 3 decies tribuit Q liii. 6 dat latratos QF liv. 3 uacaris QF 5 nullis Q 10 neget P lv. 1 duorum Q 3 desertis E 18 peterem Q 19 ripas QF 20 sneuos Q: saeuos F: sylaos E 21 Turgentisque Q cura si aequae Q: turasiaeque F 22 paruo QF toutonissae F: toutonisse Q 23 pura theonis QF 24 quos QF lvii. 2 puniceis QF latent QF lix. 2 gemma Q 3 pinguis errore E 4 iuncta F: uincta ex iuncta Q lx. 3 curlatius Q: curatius F lxi. 3 incolae Q 12 meridie Q 13 male Q 14 tam Q 16 audire om. Q lxii. 1 tiburiae herculeum E lxiii. 1 ab oculis F: a baulis ras. ex a baiulis Q 3 neroni QF lxiv. 2 heseridum Q 4 eminent QF 10 uitae Q 14 facit Q 19 patet QF 28 computet Q 31 quae QP 32 contentum Q 33 pendulamque Q 34 dediti sediam Q: deditis ediam F lxv. 2 quod E lxvi. 8 rubens QF cadis E 12 turba Q 14 fluit P lxvii. 5 talioque Q lxviii AD SEXTVM (non confl. cum lxvii) Q lxix. 1 marsica QF lxx. 1 mamiano Q: mammiano F 4 mamianus Q: mammianus F lxxi. 5 castae sunt Q lxxiii. 4 nulla QF 6 tetras Q 7 tam Q lxxiv. om. Q lxxv. 5 inlecta QF 7 pignora E lxxviii. 5 prodero Q 8 sigerosque Q lxxx cum lxxix confl. Q 4 sudares F: sudare Q 5 est erra E Q: est erras F 6 exurit Q lxxxi. 3 bis terque Q lxxxii om. Q lxxxiv. 2 thaidam Q lxxxvi. 3 docte Q lxxxvii. 2 facit QF 3 es F: est Q lxxxix. 4 sceda Q 7 defecitque QF.

V. ii. 6 iocetur QF 8 cecropiam corr. ras. -pia E vi. om. Q viii. 3 recipit QF 5 rubens QF 11 illa Q 12 leitus (i in ras.) E x. 3 insunt Q xii. 1 pertinaci E xiv. 3 terque quaterque abstulit astra Q 11 se dedere EQ laeto ex laeto Q xv. 3 honoratus ex-tum Q nomine Q 6 prosunt Q xvi. 6 sollicitus (ut vid.) (corr.-tos) uellem Q: sollicitusque uelim F 12 nimium QF 13 inquit QF dixti QF satis est(ē) Q laudabimur V xvii. 4 cistifero QF xviii. 8 uoratam QF 9 nihil diuiti Q xix. 1 ueri (i in ras.) Q 2 secula nulla Q 11 sqq. nov. epigr. AD CAESAREM Q 13 regis QF 17 sq. nov. epigr. AD GERMANICVM Q xx. 7 imagine superbos Q xxii. 7 murorum Q 10 lassa QF xxiii. 2 iure E xxiv. 3 Herm. glad. (et om.) Q 8 sibi ipsi Q 15 et item Q xxv. 2 litus Q 3 exquis Q 11 amice E xxvi. 2 locarer E 4 hem me Q: betam me E xxviii. 1 loquar E 3 uincat

E 4 drusones *QF* xxx. 2 suscipiende *QF* xxxi. 7 gestus sed de discrimine palmae *Q* xxxiv. 3 paruola *E*: paruula *X*: pallida *Q* xxxv. 5 et suscitant si ei tore luctatur *Q*: et suscitant si cito reluctatur *F* 6 equitisurbo *Q* xxxvii. 1 segnis *Q* 4 praeferens *Q* 5 indicentem *Q*: indice dentem *F* 9 rosarum *QF* 16 hiemem *ec E* xxxviii. 3 sicta mirice *Q*: syca merize *E* xli. 1 fluxo *Q* 3 sextus *EVX*: septus *Q* 5 fabulasque *Q* xlv. 2 quae *Q* xlv. 3 credo *QF* 4 consequar hoc me *Q* xlviii. 7 nec crede *E*: ne crede *Q* xlix. 3 numeros *Q*: -os *ex -us F* 5 uel *Q* possunt *Q* 9 tunc *Q* li. 7 potes *E* liii. 1 quid scribis quod scribis *E* 4 aut *Q* lv. 1 portas *Q* lvi. 4 diuites *Q* lx. 4 a meis *F*: a meis a meis *Q* 8 erunt *Q* lxi. 7 agis *EF* inquit *QF*: inquis (*sin ras.*) *E* lxii *om.* *Q* 8 instructum *F* lxiv *om.* *Q* 4 subtilibus *F* lxv. 2 nemees *QF* 4 sicula *Q* tusus *Q* 8 maior *Q* 9 maiora *Q* 11 si *om.* *Q* 13 quidem *Q* lxvii. 2 attidis *Q*: atthydis *F* 6 cum *Q* lxxi. 1 quae *Q* 5 faustine *Q* lxxiv. 2 lybyes *E* lxxvi. 1 pote *Q* 2 possint *Q* lxxviii. 3 propini *FQ* ut. *vid.* 7 culiculus *Q* 8 qui modo *Q* 13 perunt *Q* 24 placidis *E* 29 quo nec *Q* 30 cudili *Q* lxxix. 1 surrexti *QF* 3 in ut. *vid.* *Q* lxxx. 1 1 uocabis *Q* 5 iam turam *E* 6 ista *Q* lxxxi. 2 nullis *EQF* lxxxiv. 3 fritillos *QF* 9 habeat *E* 11 martia *Q* 12 Tuus *Q*

VI. ii. 1 faedae *Q* 4 quos *Q* iii. 6 toto *Q* v. 1 multis sum pedica numbis *Q* vii. 4 nubit *Q*: nubet *EF* thelesina *Q*: telesina *F* viii. 6 digno nequid *QF* x. 3 ille dedit *EF* 12 qua nondum taxata sunt *E* sunt *om.* *Q*: sint *P* xi. 3 turdus uedebatur *E* xii. 2 peierat *P* xiii. 1 formauit *PQ* 5 nudo *QF* 7 matris *QF* xv. 1 uag. form. *E* 3 contenta *QF* xvi. 1 tu qui *Q* 3 uetuit ut. *vid.* *Q* xvii. 1 cinname cinam *P*: cinna cinnam ut. *vid.* *Q* xix. 1 non diui ut. *vid.* *Q* xxi. *om.* *Q* 8 iam *E* xxiii. 1 semper nostrum *Q* 4 te *om.* *Q* xxv. 8 ducis *Q* xxvii. 8 anus *QF* xxviii. 5 flaminea *Q* xxix. post xxx *Q* 4 glauci *Q* 8 ames *QF* xxx. 2 tulle *EF* 4 rogatus *QF* xxxi. 1 senisque *E* xxxii. 4 effodit *EF* nuda *Q* 5 calacre *E* xxxiii. 4 tam *Q* xxxv. 3 dicis *Q* xxxvi. 1 quantus *Q* xxxvii. 2 3 *om.* *Q* xxxix. 1 est *E*

3 filius qui *QF* 20 iam niobidarum (*ex mob-*) *Q*: iam niubidarum *F* 21 ehoraeus *E*: conresus *Q* xl. 3 quod tu non *Q* est *om.* *E* xlii. 8 micat *Q* 18 martiaue *Q* xliii. 6 ueste mihi sunt *E*: uestrae mihi sunt *Q* 9 urbis *Q* xliv. 3 in o. *Q* xlv. 4 turpius *Q* xlvii. 3 ab anna *E* 8 satis *QF* xlix. 10 nascitur *Q* l. 1 pueros *Q* 3 obs. cepit cepit *Q*: obs. coepit *E*: obs. coepit coepit *F* 4 mensa *E* li. 4 inquis *Q* lv. 4 coriane *ex* coririne ut. *vid.* *Q* lviii. 1 cum *Q* 6 pudor *QF* 10 clarus *Q* lix. 5 refecere *E* ante corr. lx. 2 spargit *Q* 10 uicturum *Q* lxii. 1 salanus *E* 2 munera mittere appiane *Q* lxiii. 2 capiat *E* lxiv. 9 forique *EV* 20 timendus *Q*: -dis *F* 24 si quis *Q* 28 uiui nasum *Q* 32 tacitam *Q* lxv. 5 lunga *E* lxvi. 6 manum *Q* 9 dabat *E* lxix. 2 potet *Q* lxx. 12 priami (*om. que*) *QF* lxxi. 3 pelie ut. *vid.* *Q*: paeliaeque *F* lxxiii. 3 ditissimus *QF* 4 nilharus *E* lxxiv. 1 unus *QF* 2 similem *Q* 3 fuditque *Q* lxxv. 1 turdumue *Q* lxxvii. 5 aper *QF* 6 si patiere *F*: si patiare *Q*: si spaciare *P* lxxviii. 1 potator *Q* lxxxi. 2, 3 *om.* *Q* lxxxii. 6 aures *Q* hēbat anas (*sic*) *Q* 12 mihi rufe *Q* lxxxiii. 5 summa *EF*: summe *Q* tonantque *Q* 7 etruscos *QF* lxxxv. 1 Editus est *Q*: Veditus est *F* mihi *om.* *Q* camenis *Q* 8 quanta *Q* lxxxvi. 2 mediconprohibente *E* 6 Et potet calidam qui mihi libet aquam *Q* lxxxviii. 2 sosibiane *QF* lxxxix. 1 peterem *Q* nocte metellam *Q* 3 spoletin *E* xci. 2 gaudet *E* futuis *QF* xcii. 2 pateram pronos *QF* xciii. 4 canit *E* 6 caro *E* 9 late *Q* 11 totam *QF* mille putabit *Q*: mille pictabit *F*: mihi lupus (*lup'*) aui *E* xciv. 1 palpetano *E*

In quoting the readings of *V* I ignore the red-ink corrections by a Renaissance hand. To the supplementary apparatus for Book I the following additions have to be made.

xiii *confl. cum xii PQ* xlii—xlvi *om.* *P* xlviii. 6 caueae *P* lxxvi. 9 deorum *VX* lxxviii. 7 Sancta (*corr.—am*) romanam *P* lxxxiii. 1 manneia *X* (*nn etiam in lemm.*) ciii. 3—12 *om.* *P* cviii. 6 est *VX* 9 uel serius *PQ*

W. M. LINDSAY.

TACITUS AGRICOLA, 10, § 3.

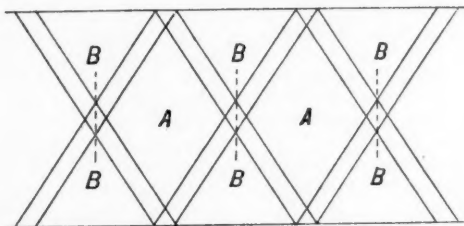
FORMAM totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama; sed

transgressis immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur.

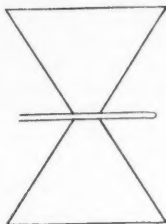
I am bold enough to think that the natural explanation of this much disputed

passage has been overlooked. Mr. Furneaux truly remarks that the *bipennis* would somewhat resemble two triangles united at their apices, and that 'this would be in itself an intelligible representation of Britain north and south of the Caledonian isthmus.' 'But,' he continues, 'such a *bipennis* is widely different from a *scutula*.' Now is this so?

Or is it not rather that commentators have been wrong in their conception of the *scutula* as necessarily the diamond or rhomboidal figure in a tessellated pavement? Roughly represented, such pavements (see Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. *Scutula*) were worked in the following figure.



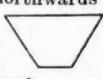
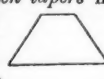
It has been assumed that the *scutula* in Tacitus is the enclosed diamond A. I venture on the contrary to believe that it is the enclosing X-shaped figure (BE). If this is the case, the relation of the *scutula* to the *bipennis* is obvious. The *bipennis* has the shape

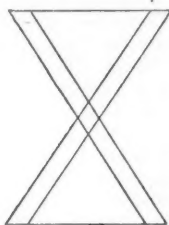


and the *scutula* the shape

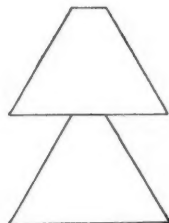


Tacitus then means that the whole island has been compared to one or other of these. He does not, he says, think the picture correct. It is the case, as Mr. Furneaux explains, that Britain below Caledonia does resemble one half of the double axe (and, as we may now see, of the *scutula* also), but for the other half, the resemblance does not apply. The words of Tacitus are surely

clear enough in the light of these considerations. What he says is that, after you reach the isthmus, whereas (if the picture were true) the land beyond (*i.e.* Caledonia) should *begin* as almost the apex of a triangle and then widen northwards to its base (and have the shape ) where the shore almost seems to meet (in a point, *i.e.* at the apex of the southern triangle), the northern half runs outward (to left and right) to an enormous width, and then *tapers* northward, *i.e.* it takes the shape , but is less regular. In other words, instead of the shape being (for the whole island)



it is really



This notion was anything but unnatural for a Roman who, on reaching the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, found the land suddenly trend away so far westward

in Argyle and eastward in Fife, and who was told of the tapering again which occurred after rounding Buchan Ness.

T. G. TUCKER.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON APULEIUS.¹

Apologia (Ed. v. d. Vliet, 1900).

xxx. fin. igitur ut solebat ad magorum ceremonias aduocari Mercurius carminum vector et illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia et Manium potens Trivia.

Van der Vliet prints *inuentor* for *vector*, which can hardly be thought probable. I suggest, as much nearer, *fictor*.

[G. A. Simcox thought that *carminum vector* might be explained 'bearer of charms' quasi πομπὸς ἐπωδῶν.]

xxxv. quæsisse de litore conchulam striatam testam thabentem calculum teretem. Possibly *hietantem*.

xxxviii. et ne perose animalium genita pergam.

So both F and φ. *perose* was printed *operose* in the second Juntine edition, and this must, I think, be right: *genita* I suspect is *genera*: for *pergam*, perhaps *peragam*.

xli. aiunt mulierem magicis artibus marinis illecebris a me petitam eo in tempore quo me non negabunt in Gaetuliae mediterraneis montibus fuisse, ubi pisces per deucalionis diluvia reperientur.

V. d. Vliet conj. *ubi pisces post Deucalionis diluvia [non] reperiantur*. In this I fail to see why the future is changed to subjunctive: the general meaning seems natural enough: I was at the time in the Gaetulian mountains where it will be difficult to find any trace of fishes. A negative therefore must have fallen out, as v. d. Vliet supposes, but I should prefer *vix*, and this after *diluvia*. *Per* may be right, 'where Deucalion's flood will hardly permit fish to be found': or again it might be an error for *super* beyond, at any time later than the flood. Aristotle *Meteorol.*, I. 14, 15, says the so-called Deucalion's flood was mainly confined to Greece: ὥστε ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο μάλιστα τόπον, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν.

[J. F. Myres thought the passage was ironical and did not require a negative.]

¹ This paper was read to the Oxford Philological Society, Nov. 16, 1900.

xliv. omnium rerum convictum me fatebor nisi rusa de omnium diu ablegatus est in longinquos agros ne familiam contaminaret.

Possibly *nisi rus ideo omnium odio ablegatus est*, 'if he was not, in consequence of the general disgust, sent off to a remote district in the country to prevent his infecting the household.' *ideo* is explained by *ne f. contaminaret*.

xlx. Plato philosophus in illo praeclarissimo Timaeo caelesti quadam facundia universum mundum molitus. igitur postquam de nostri quoque animi trinis potestatibus sollertissime disseruit, . . . docuit.

Rosbach's *molitur* introduces an abruptness hardly in the style of Apuleius. I fancy *is* has fallen out before *igitur* and that a comma should be substituted for a full stop after *molitus*. This resumption of the subject with *igitur* is common in Apuleius. Hildebrand quotes on *Flor.* I. 2, several examples from that work; p. 19, *Indi . . . eorum igitur Indorum*: p. 28, *si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coetu . . . si qui igitur ex illis*, and there are others.

lix. cum animaduertisses caput iuuenis barba et capillo populatum nadentis oculis cilia turgentia rictum salinosa labia uocem absonam manuum tremorem fructu spinam.

Perhaps *ructum, spumam*. Rutgers long ago conj. *rictus spumam*. But the rhythm of the sentence makes it probable that there was a pause between the last two words *ructum, spumam*; and *rictus* has already preceded.

lx. quanquam sunt solita audacia et importuna impudentia praediti.

Neither the old emendation *soluta* nor Jahn's *insolita* satisfies. I think the word is *stolida*.

lxi. qui mihi factum uolebat.

This seems right, as explained by the words shortly following *quod et futurum et factum multi . . . scierunt*. Sicinius wished the image to be not only undertaken by the maker, but completed, *perfectum sigillum* as Apuleius says a little below. Van der Vliet prints (*gratum*) factum.

lxiv. *quin altitudinis studio secta ista etiam caelo ipso sublimiora quaequam uestigauit et in extimo mundi ttergoretit.*

Tergo stetit (or *restitit*) would suit Plato's words *Phaedr.* 247 C. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατοι καλούμεναι, ἡνίκ' ἂν πρὸς ἄκρῳ γένωνται, ἔξω πορευθείσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νότῳ, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

lxvii. *cuius clari dilucet.*

Jahn's *clarius* *dis* *lucet* does not seem to me certain. May not *claridie* like *postridie* be a possible word 'in clear day'?

lxviii. *quaeso uti adhuc fecistis uos uel si quo magis etiam potestis.*

This is a possible emendation of *adhuc feciros* which F and φ give. It seems incredible that it should represent *fecistis* by itself. The pronoun is added *lxviii. ehem recte uos ammonetis.*

lxxxii. *fin. haec et id genus † ea.*

alia Fulvius: *cetera* may also be suggested.

lxxxv. *tunc ultimo parentis tuae animum in istis scrutatis oculis obseruas suspiritus numeras?*

ultimo is certainly not *ultime*, a vocative = *pessime*; I suggest that it may be *uolpio*, which is used in the required sense of a man dead to considerations of pity and natural feeling in *lxxxvi fin. etiam cum matri blandirere tamen iam tum uolpionem et impium fuisse.*

xvi. *puta me acta apud Auitum non litteras ipsius legisse. quid posses uel quas quis in isto negotio accusare?*

For *quas quis* read *quas uis* sc. *litteras*, punctuating thus: *puta me acta apud Auitum, non litteras ipsius, legisse. Quid? posses uel quasuis in isto negotio accusare?* Suppose I had read no letter from Avitus, but a mere statement of what happened where Avitus was. Tell me, is *any* letter forthcoming which you could arraign in the business we are speaking of?

And Apuleius immediately proves his assertion by reciting in court a letter written to him by the elder Pontianus from Carthage, which far from bearing a resentful or indignant tone breathed nothing but respect and affection.

The immediately following passage was, I think, ably cleared up by the skilful criticism of Bosscha, of which I regret to find v. d. Vliet has taken no notice.

ut sciat frater eius, accusator meus, quam in omnibus minervae curriculum cum fratre optumae memoriae uiro currat.

Bosscha saw that *minervae* contained the determining word of the clause, *minor*; the last syllable he thought was *u(it)ae*. This part of his emendation is of course doubtful; but that *minor* is right I feel nearly certain, from the thoroughly Latin order and run of the words *quam in omnibus minor*, as well as from the strangeness of the combination *minervae curriculum*, no real parallel for which has yet been produced. The doubtful letters *-uae* might perhaps be the remains of *ipse*, or even *ille*, if Apuleius might be allowed to forget the subject of the sentence and hold up the younger brother to more distinct ridicule by the deictic pronoun.

xvii. *postquam tuas quoque paris epistolas promerem.*

I believe this to be right as it stands in F φ: *post quam* (*epistolam Pontiani maioris*) *tuas quoque paris epistolas promerem* 'and after this letter from the elder Pontianus I should produce similar letters of your own' i.e. of the younger Pontianus. Editors have gone wrong from failing to see that *post quam* is not the conjunction, but the preposition and its accusative.

[D. B. Monro objected to this that it would not be sufficiently intelligible from anything which preceded. But the way is prepared by *litteras* at the end of *xvi.*]

FLORIDA (Ed. van der Vliet, 1900).

ix. (p. 156). *nec reuocare illud nec a me mutare nec emendare mihi inde quidquam licet.*

Lipsius altered *a me* to *autem*; but the same combination has occurred five lines before in the form *neque autem*, and it is hardly likely that it would recur so soon with *nec* for *neque*, to say nothing of *neque autem* having its proper force in the second of two and only two clauses *semel lecta neque augeri littera una neque autem minui potest*, whereas here it is comparatively meaningless. *A me* 'on my own judgment' as against the opinion of the public who had read and approved and wished for no alteration.

xiii. p. 163. *sed enim philosophi ratio et oratio tempore iugis est et auditu venerabilis et intellectu utilis et † modo omnica.*

Ought not this to be *modo non omnica*?

[G. A. Simcox thought *modo* must be parallel with the other ablatives *tempore auditu intellectu*, perhaps = 'in its music' and D. B. Monro suggested that *modo* may = 'musical mode.']

xiv. p. 163. *exclamat Crates inquit Crates te manumittes.*

The Greek line cited by Suidas s.v. Κράτης (Hildebrand, p. 49) ἀρθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ εἶπε· Ἐλευθεροῖ Κράτηρα Θηβαίων Κράτης points to the form in which the corrupt words of Apuleius may be supposed to have been cast.¹ This makes any self-address such as *te manumittes* unlikely. Of the older corrections, *Crates, inquit, Cratetem manu mittit* has been revived by Rohde, and might possibly explain *te*: *Cratetem* having become *Crates te(m)*. But it is also possible that *te* is a corruption of *de* or *e*, and that the shorter form of the accusative *Cratem* lurks in the second *Crates*. It is tolerably certain that the nominative *Crates* is the first word. Thus we should have *Crates, inquit, Cratem de manu mittit*.

[D. B. Monro suggested *Cratetem de manu mittit Crates*.]

xv. p. 164. *ager (the soil of Samos) frumento piger aratro inritus secundior oliueto nec uinitori nec holeri scalpitur.*

Rohde altered *scalpitur* to *culpatur*, a very hazardous change palaeographically, and doubtful as regards the construction of the datives. I believe *scalpitur* to be right, and retain *holeri* against Krüger's *holitori*: 'the soil is sluggish for corn, useless for ploughing, more fertile for an olive plantation, and is not dug up for the use either of the vine-dresser or of garden produce.' And he goes on to say that *hoeing* was the main operation of the rustic in Samos (*omnis ruratio in sarculo*).

[G. A. Simcox suggested *uineto* for *uinitori*.]

xv. p. 164. *†uel inde ante aram Bathylli statua a Polycrate tyranno dicata.*

uel inde cannot be *ueluti* (Bosscha), and I question v.d. Vliet's *uel iam inde = continuo*. I fancy it was *uel indidem*, 'or from the same temple.'

ib. p. 166. *Chaldaei sideralem scientiam... ostendere nec non medendi remedia mortalibus †latis pecuniis terra caeloque et mari conquisita.*

For *latis* which Hildebrand vainly defends, I would suggest *late* or *latius* 'cures of healing were studiously sought out for man's use far and wide by outlays of money, through earth, sea and sky.' *pecuniis*, how-

¹ This is equally true of the other forms in which the words are cited by Menage in his commentary on Diog. Laertius, vi. 87. (1) σήμερον Κράτης Κράτητα ἐλευθεροῖ; (2) Κράτης Κράτητα χρημάτων ἀποστερεῖ; (3) Κράτης ἀπολύει τὰ Κράτητος.

ever, is suspicious: I do not think it can have been *prouinciis* (v.d. Vliet).

[Or can *latis* = *conlatis*, contributed?]

ib. p. 167. *tot ille doctoribus eruditus tot tamque multiugis †comitibus disciplinarum toto orbe haustus.*

None of the emendations I have seen is adequate. I believe the word was *summatibus* 'chiefs,' 'leaders' in different forms of philosophic teaching: *haustis* is in reference to Pythagoras, drinking in their tenets one after the other. I had before thought of *commentoribus* 'inventors,' but the termination *tibus* (*comitibus*) is against it.

xvi. p. 170. *commodum ille (the comic writer Philemon) anima edita obriguerat, iacebatque incumbens toro similis cogitanti. adhuc manus uolumini inplexa adhuc os †recto libro impressus.*

v.d. Vliet, who appears to me rightly to retain *impressus* (Aen. iv. 690), might also have retained *recto*. Philemon was found with his face pressed upon the book lying straight before him, not at an angle.

p. 170. *Haec ego ita facta ut commemoravi olim didiceram sed †audies me† meo periculo recordatus.*

Oudendorp appears to me mainly right in his correction *haud sine meo p. recordatus*, but he leaves the letters *-ie-* unaccounted for. I would write *sed hau diu sine m.p.r.* 'Years ago I had been told this story as I have related it, though I had not long recalled it to memory before I was myself similarly imperilled.'

The story is of Philemon's suddenly dying after he had given a recitation of one half of a new comedy, just at the time his audience had reassembled to hear the other half. Apuleius had given a recitation which was suddenly interrupted by a shower of rain, and put off the remainder to the following day. In the interim he sprained his ankle, and was in imminent danger of a broken leg. *m* is a corruption of *in*: *s* has attached itself to the word preceding.

p. 172. *id ego arbitror praecipue in honore obseruandum, quem qui laboriosae exorauerit sibi debet †nam gratiam quod impetrarit. qui uero sine molestia ambitus adeptus est duplam gratiam praebentibus debet et quod non petierit et quod acceperit.*

In this case v.d. Vliet has not improved on one of his predecessors. For *nam* Colvius conjectured *unam*, surely in every way better than *diuiduam*.

ib. *est enim tantus in studiis prae nobilior sit proprio ingenio quam patricio consulatu.*

Correct *prae nobilior* [ut] *sit*, not, as

hitherto, *ut praen. sit*. The position of *ut* after *praenobilior* and before *sit* is, so to speak, the condition which makes the omission of the word intelligible.

p. 175. *mox ad dedicationem statuæ meae libro etiam conscripto plenius gratias † canacique libro mandabo*.

Scioppius (Schopp), a scholar who spite of his attacks on Scaliger ought not to be forgotten, corrected *canacique* into *canam ociosaque*, and v.d. Vliet thinks *canam* right, accepting (after Scaliger's *tenaciusque*) *tenacique*. The only other correction I know which might displace *canam* is Baptista Pius' *capaciusque* 'more comprehensively'; but F and ϕ , our sheet-anchors in the dangerous waters of the *Florida*, present no trace of *as*: hence Schopp's *canam* may stand; as for *-cique*, it may be the remains of a *genitive* like *musicique* or *melicique*.

xix. p. 185. *uenarum pulsus inconditos uel praeclaros*.

praecalidos seems not impossible: feverish. *ib. propius accessit ut tunc cognosceret more ingenii quisnam esset quoniam percontanti nemo responderat an uero ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte reprehenderet*.

Hildebrand suggested *ut ne cognosceret*, which v.d. Vliet improves into *utine cogn. comparing p. 186, 2, quod ne iam ipsi hereditatem habebant an quod adhuc illi fidem non habebant*. This seems right.

more ingenii cannot be *pro captu ingenii*. I suspect *ingenii* is a mistake for *ingenui* 'as is common with men of good natural feeling,' namely, to inquire who the person is whose body is being carried to burial.

ib. iam eum pollinctum iam penē paratum contemplatus enim.

penē of F *pene* of ϕ is simply *paene*, almost ready, i.e. to be burnt on the funeral pyre: *pyrae* is surely an impossibility for *paenae*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNREAL CONDITION IN LATIN.

THE history of the unreal conditional sentence is a question of interest common to many languages, particularly so, when, as is the case with the Latin language, part of that history falls within the literary period; under such conditions we might expect that definite and reliable conclusions would be readily reached. On the contrary, a view very commonly accepted with regard to the history of the unreal condition in Latin is far from satisfactory and will not bear close scrutiny.

The root of the difficulty seems to lie in the fact that there is a general failure to apprehend that the history of the unreal condition is two-fold, i.e. both *psychological* and *grammatical*. In the first of these aspects the question is, when and how did men come to *think* in the unreal form? in the second, when and how did they come to select as the expression of this mode of thought the peculiar speech-forms found in the several languages? What a person *thinks* and the *form of words* he uses in the expression of that thought are two distinct things, and we have no right to assume that the history of the two is identical—in fact, generally speaking, we have the best of warrant for making the opposite assumption. In this discussion I shall use the terms *thought-form* and *speech-form* to make the

distinction between the psychological and the grammatical problem.

It is the speech-form that naturally challenges the attention of the grammarian; in the case of Latin he is interested to know how it came about that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive were the chosen expression for the unreal conditional sentence. In devising an explanation for this fact he runs into danger of advancing a theory which is based upon or involves untenable assumptions concerning the thought-form. This danger would be greatly lessened, if the investigator clearly realized the double nature of the problem with which he is dealing. The analysis of a commonly received view will serve to illustrate the above remarks, and, at the same time, pave the way for a theory concerning the history of the thought-form.

It is maintained that the unreal condition is derived from the less vivid future (or ideal) condition; that, by transfer to a point in past time, the less vivid future takes on a new value, becoming a 'future from a point in the past,' the change of meaning being accompanied by a change to the imperfect and pluperfect tenses; and that, when this future from a point in the past coincides with the speaker's present, a new implication arises, namely, of unreality, for

otherwise the statement would not take conditional form at all.

This theory explains very nicely (and that seems to have been its design) how the peculiar speech-form of the unreal condition arose; the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive were the Latin expression for a future from a point in the past: when this latter developed a new meaning the old speech-form was retained. However, if we turn to the other aspect of the question, it will be found that certain assumptions have been made concerning the thought-form, which, when disentangled from any confusion with the question of the speech-form, are so obviously hard to maintain that one would scarcely be willing to essay the task. It is assumed (1) that the less vivid future thought-form is antecedent to and the source of the unreal thought-form; (2) that the unreal thought-form was developed alongside of or, possibly, a little later than, the speech-form; (3) that a future from a point in the past was a step through which the less vivid future thought-form developed into the unreal.¹

As to the last of these assumptions, my observation is that, in *si*-clauses not dependent upon other constructions, the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are not used by Plautus as the expression of a future from a point in the past, though this usage is well attested in Cicero and frequent in the Younger Pliny, standing, in these last named authors, side by side with the unreal condition. If this be the fact of the case then this usage is late rather than early, and can have nothing to do with the development of either the unreal thought-form or its speech-form.

As to the assumption that the unreal thought-form was contemporaneous with or subsequent to the speech-form; in grammars and elsewhere we meet such expressions as 'Plautus uses the present subjunctive in conditions contrary to fact'; everyone admits the truth of this and the statement rouses no question: if, however, the feeling that prompts these observations should find other terms for its expression and we should say 'Although Plautus had not yet fully settled upon a peculiar unreal speech-form, he appreciated and understood fully the unreal thought-form,' it might

seem at first sight like another statement; I am convinced, however, that this is simply putting into clear form what every student of Plautus instinctively feels to be true. It would transcend the limits of the present paper to show that Plautus understood and used the unreal thought-form in its derived and logical uses just as Cicero did or we do; I shall content myself for the present with showing that Plautus, using the present subjunctive as his speech-form, has no difficulty in making one character convey to another an unreal thought-form:

St. 592 ff.:²

Ep. Edepol te vocem lubenter, si superfiat locus.

Ge. Quin tum stans obtrusero aliquid strenue.

Epignomus and his brother, on their return from a long journey, meet the parasite Gelasimus who is anxious for an invitation to dinner. If Epignomus' remark (592) be taken as contrary to fact it of course implies 'I cannot invite you, because all the places are taken at my table.' Gelasimus clearly understands him to mean that, for he rejoins 'Oh, if that's the case (tum), I will gladly stand and stow away something.' If now we interpret Epignomus' remark as expressing a less vivid future idea, it would run 'I should be glad to have you at dinner, if there should (prove to) be a place to spare'; Gelasimus' reply shows clearly that he does *not* understand it in that sense. If we had but this one case it would be ample warrant for the assertion that Plautus understood and used the unreal thought-form long before Latin settled definitely upon a specific speech-form for its expression.³ With this passage may be compared:

M.G. 1371 ff:

Nam si honeste censeam te facere posse, suadeam.

Verum non potest: cave faxis.

Ps. 273 ff:

BA. Quid agitur, Calidore? CA. Amatur atque egetur acriter.

BA. Misereat, si familiam alere possim misericordia.

Ps. Heia, scimus nos quidem tu qualis sis: ne praedices.

¹ For a full statement, see Greenough, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VII. Similarly C. Harrison (*Classical Review*, IV, p. 297) speaks of 'potentials of the past not yet developed into unrels.' Blase (*Geschichte des Irrealis*, Erlangen 1888) betrays some confusion of thought; see p. 16.

² I quote from the edition of Goetz and Schoell.

³ In the passage quoted doubtless Epignomus helped out his ambiguous speech-form by *lubenter* and his tone of (mock) apology: these things, however, are merely partial aspects of the speech-form, and in no way affect the conclusion reached above.

See also *Ep.* 331, *Merc.* 591, *Rud.* 1418 ff *St.* 190.

These passages can only serve to strengthen our feeling that Plautus was no stranger to the unreal thought-form, whatever the speech-form he used. Without any such direct evidence, we should be justified perhaps in making the same assumption, for Plautus did not belong to the childhood of the race by any means, and we have no warrant for assuming for him crude and undeveloped thought-power.¹ I am prepared to go a step further and postulate the same clearness of thought found in Plautus for some (and, doubtless, a considerable) time before Plautus: none would be likely to maintain that Plautus thought more clearly than did Quintus Fabius Maximus or Appius Claudius, though, doubtless, their speech-form was more unsettled than his. All these considerations go to show that the unreal thought-form with the Latin race was antecedent, by centuries probably, to a settled specific speech-form.

The third of the assumptions made, namely that the less vivid future thought-form is antecedent to the unreal and the source from which it is evolved, presents a problem with which the psychologist rather than the grammarian might be expected to deal, and one concerning which some latitude of opinion may be allowed. An examination of the two thought-forms may lead to another view of their relation than that presented by the theory under discussion. The unreal and the less vivid future thought-forms have this in common that they both deal with *fancied* circumstances: the unreal thought-form fancies an *existing* or *past*²

¹ To compare the late rise of a specific unreal speech-form to the late use of such a form by children is misleading: the children doubtless fail to use an already provided speech-form from a failure to appreciate the thought-form of which it is the expression: we are not to think of such defective thought-power in the case of Plautus.

² I use the phrase 'existing or past' rather than 'present or past' that anything temporally as broad as the general truth may be included: e.g. Cicero, *p. Arch.* xi. 29, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum; this clause is suggested by the general truth that the soul does look forward to the future,

state of affairs *contemporaneously* replaced by an opposite, or, at least, changed state of affairs; the less vivid future deals with a fancied *future*. This being the case, it seems that the categories of less vivid future and unreal thought-form may have risen by a process of *differentiation*, one becoming a category as soon as the other by a process of exclusion, in that the two together cover the field of the *fancied* case in all its temporal aspects.

The fact that the two thought-forms have the common ground noted above may serve to explain partly how it was that language generally put off so late the adoption of specific speech-forms, and tolerated so long an ambiguous speech-form (e.g., present subjunctive in Latin, optative in Homeric Greek). It would be interesting to determine why it is that the unreal thought-form is the one that moves out of the common speech-form and takes to itself a new form of expression. The answer to this question will perhaps be given when the history of the unreal speech-form has been written up—a history based on the phenomena of many languages.

Though this paper may appear at first sight to be somewhat negative in character, I have tried to bring out the following facts:

(1) That the history of the unreal conditional sentence has two distinct aspects, one psychological, the other grammatical, and that attempts to explain the speech-form without reckoning with the thought-form lead to error.

(2) That the unreal thought-form was a clear-cut category in the Roman mind long before a specific speech-form was finally adopted.

(3) That the unreal thought-form may have arisen by a process of differentiation from the less vivid future thought-form, rather than by a process of evolution from it.

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and represents this general truth as contemporaneously replaced by an opposite state of affairs.

NOTES.

ON ARISTOTLE, *Poet.* 1455a 34.—Prof. Butcher, who did me the honour of consulting me on certain readings of the Arabic Poetics for his interesting edition of the Greek, informed me that a continental scholar had asserted that the Arabic read *ἐκστατικοί* for *ἐκστατικοί* in this passage. I had been unable to satisfy myself about the Arabic word intended by the writer of the Paris MS., and therefore could not confirm this; but I must regret my want of perspicacity, for I have now no doubt that the word intended is 'ajabiyyina, which is vulgar Arabic for 'buffoons,' literally 'men of wonder.' The Syriac translated by this word will almost certainly have been *mathh'rānē*, a literal translation of *ἐκστατικοί*, which the Syriac translator probably thought meant 'men who produce ecstasis.' The verb *ἐκστασθαι* is not unfrequently rendered by the Syriac verb whence this word is derived. I hope this may be not the only passage in which that continental scholar has solved difficulties which baffled the editor of the Arabic Poetics.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

STRABO XII. 3, 38, p. 360.—Nearly the same cure for this passage as Mr. Munro advocates was proposed by Von Sallet in his *Beiträge z. Gesch. u. Num. d. Könige, &c.*, who, however, instead of simply excising *ἐνδ*, substitutes *ἐς* for it. The resulting sense is practically the same. In one of the scores of unpublished papers on Asia Minor, which burden my shelves and my conscience, I find that the difficulties of the vulgate text are stated, and the conclusion is thus reached: 'All difficulties disappear by a slight change in the text: we must either omit *ἐνδ* before *τῶν παίδων* or (with Von Sallet) change it to *ἐς*. Then we have the clear and naturally expressed narrative: "in the fortress of Sagylon

[*ἐν τῷ θῷ*] Arsakes, (one) of the sons of Pharnakes, who was playing the dynast and causing disturbance without authorisation from any of the Roman leaders (*i.e.* Triumvirs), was captured and slain." On the other hand, the vulgate is defended by Hennig *Symbolae ad As. Min. Reges Sacerdotes*; but his defence is equivalent to a disproof.

That the same cure suggests itself independently to many scholars is a strong corroboration of its necessity.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ON HORACE, *Odes* IV. 2, 45-8.

Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
Vocis accedet bona pars et, 'O sol
Pulcher! O laudande!' canam, recepto
Caesare felix.

Is it too late to advocate an interpretation of the last two of these lines, which has scarcely ever been noticed and in the new *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* is not accorded even a mention? I find it alluded to only by Maclean, who says that 'whether "felix" refers to Horace himself or the sun is doubtful. The reader's taste must determine,' and by Orelli, who thinks that a much '*tenerior sensus*' is obtained by the former (usual) choice. It seems to me that the objective sense of the word *felix* ('fortunate,' not 'happy') and the sense of *laudande* ('to be cited with approval' rather than 'to be praised') are both in favour of printing the last three words between inverted commas. It would also be too personal, if not grotesque, a touch for Horace to describe himself as singing with joy at the emperor's return. For the shape of the sentence compare '*pulcher fugatis ille dies Latio tenebris.*'

F. W. THOMAS.

REVIEWS AND COMPTES RENDUS.

WECKLEIN'S *SUPPLICES* AND *HERACLIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

Euripidis Fabulae, Ed. R. PRINZ et N. WECKLEIN. Vol. II. Pars II. *Supplices*. 2 M. Vol. II. Pars IV. *Heracidae*. 2 M.

THE publication of Dr. Wecklein's excellent work on Euripides continues at a pace which leaves the panting reviewer far behind. The chief value of the work continues to lie in the thoroughness and accuracy of the new collations of the MSS. and of the history of the constitution of the text. It is needless to add that the editor's learning and judgment are such as to compel and reward the attention of all students of Euripides to each separate

decision made by him, both as to the need for emendation, and as to the value of different emendations proposed by others or by himself. The study of this edition, however, will, I think, suggest to many the question whether, in the proposal or adoption of emendations of the text, the editor has not allowed himself too free a hand. Especially is this the case where he is replacing, not the bad by the good, but the good by what he holds to be the better. Another question which may also be asked, though with some hesitation, is, has not the editor been rather too partial, seeing that this is a standard critical edition, to his own suggestions? As

readers know, Dr. Wecklein arranges emendations in three classes. The first class he prints in the text, the second in the notes at the foot, the third in an appendix. In the *Supplices* the number of his own emendations in the first class is 34, or one for every 36 lines, in the second 93, or one for every 13 lines. In the *Heracidae* the numbers are: first class 26 or one for every 40 lines, second class 65 or one for every 16 lines. (In the *Orestes*, the last of the plays which has appeared, the numbers are: first class 25 or one in every 68 lines, and second class 116 or a little more than 1 in every 15 lines.)

I have endeavoured, in the detailed remarks which follow, while noticing important innovations, to furnish some material towards the answer of these two questions, and I propose then to revert shortly to the subject (which I have more than once discussed in this Review) of the relation of the two MSS. L and P to each other, and to see what light is thrown on the question by passages in these two plays. Dr. Wecklein follows Vitelli in regarding P as a copy of L. I still hold the older view that L and P were independent copies of the same MS.

SUPPLICES.

In the MSS. v. 38 ends with *χθονός* and v. 32 with *θεός* (which should have a comma before it). For these words W. substitutes *φρενῶν* and *χθονός* respectively. I think most readers, even if they thought the alteration an improvement, would pronounce it too violent and too 'subjective' to be introduced into a critical text.—60. *σὸν δὲ PL, τὸν W.* Cf. the note on *Heracidae* 911 where precisely the opposite alteration is made.—63. W. gives *θελέμω* as a probable substitute for *δόςίως*. This is guess-work.—90 f. W. reads *μητέρ'* for the MSS. *μήτηρ*, putting a comma after *ποδί* instead of after *δόμων*. So emended the sentence runs better, but at the expense of the sense: *ἀποῦσαν* should go closely with *μεταστείχω*. The long absence is mentioned as the reason for the search. As to the main construction *μήτηρ ἔχει τι νέον* is as good as *μητέρα ἔχει τι νέον*.—199 f. should surely remain.—221. W. prints the MSS. *ζώντων*, mentions Heath's *δντων* as an emendation of the second class, and puts Porson's *ἰώντων* (which I should unhesitatingly print) in the third, along with such an emendation as *ὡς σφύζων τὰ θεῶν*. (Heath is no doubt right in saying that the *μέν* in 220 corresponds to the *δέ* in

229, and that 222–228, which W. unnecessarily follows O. Lueders in rejecting, are parenthetical.—240 f. Here W. puts into class II two emendations which I at least should have been glad to see printed in the text: Wilamowitz's *οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὄντες* (for the MSS. *οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες*), and Herwerden's *αἱ* for *δαινοί*, which mends the sense and is palaeographically likely.—249. The adoption of Nauck's *δ' ἐάν* for the MSS. *λίαν* is not enough to mend this line. If one emendation only is to be allowed, Marchant's *αἰσχρὸν* for *αὐτὸς* seems best.—250. W. puts Elmsley's *ἡμαρτον* (for MSS. *ἡμαρτεν*) in the third class. The arguments for it however are strong. The following words *ἐν νέουσι δ' ἀνθρώπων τόδε ἔνεστι* show that it is no error on the part of Adrastus that the Chorus are speaking of. He is not νέος. In v. 232 Theseus has said that Adrastus had been νέος *παπαχθείς*, and enlarges on the wicked folly of these νέοι. To these then the Chorus would naturally refer in *ἡμαρτον* κ.τ.λ. Also the following *τῷδε*, which does refer to Adrastus, is more natural as referring to some one fresh.—306. This v. runs in the MSS. *νυνὶ δὲ σοὶ τε τοῦτο τὴν τιμὴν φέρε*. W. proposes in the footnotes to re-write it: *νῦν δ' ἔστι σοὶ τε τοῦτ' ὀνειδος εὐκλείης*. This is surely wild work in a critical edition.—380. W., adopting Canter's *νέμονο'* for *νέμεις* well substitutes *ἦσσον* for MSS. *αἰὲ τὸν* (the intermediate stage having been *νέμονσα ἦπτον*, a *η* τ becoming *αἰ*).—413. It is perhaps a misprint that this v. ends with a full stop, and not with a comma. The comma is rendered necessary by the adoption of Wilamowitz's *τὸ δ' for ὁ δ'* at the beginning of the next v.—441. According to Barnes it was Duport, not Scaliger, who first read *ἔστ'* here for *ἔστίς*.—442. It is surprising that W. does not accept Markland's *εὐθεντής* for the MSS. *αὐθεντής*. Markland quotes a note of Theodorus Gaza (Περὶ Μηνῶν) to the effect that in late Greek *αὐθεντής* was used as equivalent to the Lat. *auctor* and that *αὐθεντία* was *auctoritas*. This use would be familiar to a Byzantine scribe, and would account for the error.—478. The words *ἐκ βραχιόνων* which some editors have thought corrupt, seem to me sound, and to mean "though on the weaker side." Cf. v. 518 f. *οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ Κρέοντα δεσπόζοντ' ἔμοῦ, οὐδὲ σθένοντα μείζον*.—523. The 'vulgata lectio' seems to me far sounder than either Kirchhoff's or Wecklein's suggestions.—550. It is an interesting fact that both Reiske and Markland conjecturally restored *παλαίσμαθ'*, the original reading of the MSS., though all the editions had followed the late hand of

L and P in writing *πάλαισμά θ.*—573. W. leaves in the text *χάτέρους ἄλλους πόνους* (χά. ἄθλους ἐγώ Nauck) though surely there is more need of alteration than in 599 where he replaces *ταράσσει* by *θοάζει*, and the source of the corruption, if there is one, was in both cases a marginal explanation.—608. W. well emends the MSS. *ἂν τις αἰρή* to *αὐτὺς ἀρεῖ*.—660. The δ' after *ἰππότην* was not inserted, as W. says, by Scaliger, but by Reiske (and Markland).—688. W.'s *ἐσαντέλλουσαν* for MSS. *προσαντέλλουσαν* would perhaps be more in place in a footnote than in the text.—701. Here W. prints *κελεμὸν*, but at *Cyclops* 653 *κελευσμοῖς*. Is this because P in the latter passage reads *κελευμοῖς*?—708. *ἐκέρδαιεν* (MSS.) is better than Hermann's *ἐκύδαιεν* which W. prints, or Dindorf's *ἐκήδαιεν* which he puts in the footnote: *οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικῶν τοῦτ' ἐκέρδαιεν μόνον* is: 'he would not rest content with victory on this wing.'—W. well transposes vv. 745 and 746, and in 747 substitutes *λόγοις* for the MSS. *φίλοις*, referring to *Ion* 649 and *Soph. Aj.* 330 for the same mistake.—787 f. W. well reads *παλαιᾶς...ἀμέρας* for the MSS. *παλαιῶς...ἀμέρα* (though Porson's *ἀμερᾶν* involves less alteration). He would have done well to adopt Nauck's *τί μὲν* for *τὸ μὲν* in v. 790, and Markland's *στερεῖσα* for the MSS. *στερεῖσθαι* (of which in L the *σθαι* is a late addition). W. prints Blomfield's *στέρεσθαι*.—885. Musgrave's *ἐξήρε* seems a much better emendation of the MSS. *ἔχαιρε* than W.'s *ἔχριμπτε*.—931. W. well emends the MSS. *αὐθαίρετος* to *αὐθαρέτω*, and in 1020 and 1033 makes good suggestions in the footnote: to read *φίλω* for *φίλον* in the former, and to reject the latter v.—1112. Are W.'s two suggestions on this line: *ὠφέλουν τινὰ* or *μηδὲν ὠφέλουν βροτῶν* worthy of the place he gives them in the second class?—1183. 'τῆσδ' Markland.' It was Matthiae who proposed *τῆσδ'*. Markland at *I. T.* 1436 wants to change a similar *τῆσδ'* to *τοῦσδ'*.—1200. W. prints *πρυτανικῇ* for the MSS. *πυθικῇ*. This is unnecessary. Heracles told Theseus to take the tripod to Delphi, but we must suppose that Theseus had not yet done so. It is quite in accordance with this explanation that Athena says in v. 1203 *κάπειτα σφῆζειν θεῶ δὸς ᾧ Δελφῶν μέλει*.—It is a curious coincidence that at v. 1194 W. suggests that *πόλιν* was written as an explanation over the *χθόνα* at the end of the following v. whereas at v. 1184 he prints *πόλιν* (also over a *χθόνα* at the end of the following v.) as an emendation (Reiske's) of the MSS. *τάδε*.

The only misprints I have noticed in this

play are the following: The numbers are omitted in the footnotes before notes on vv. 206 and 761, p. 58 l. 5 *συννάψω* for *συνάψω*, v. 1180 footnote *δηθ'* for *δητ'*.

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5. For *αὐτῷ δ' ἄριστος* W. reads *αὐτῷ δ' ἀρωγός*. F. W. Schmidt's *ἀρεστός* seems better (cf. Hdt. v. 129 *καὶ κως ἐκιντῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὄρχετο*), if any alteration is necessary.—37. For *τέρμονας* W. well suggests in the footnote *τέρμιον*.—72. ? *ἀτιμίαν* for MSS. *ἀτιμία*.—132. I prefer Holzner's *μὴ ἀμελεῖν* (δ' ἐμὸν) which W. puts in the third class to his own *μανθάνειν δ' ἐμὸν* (which he puts in the second) for the MSS. *μὴ μέλλειν ἐμοί*.—? dele v. 140.—165. ? which W. reads for *ῆ*, was Barnes's emendation, though W. does not say so.—169. It was hardly worth while to record in the Appendix F. W. Schmidt's unmetrical line *ἐρεῖς πόλει ποτὲ χάριν ἐκτίσειν στόλον*. (At *Cyclops* 144 W. prints a line beginning *ἐν σέλμασι νεώς*, which shows the same metrical irregularity).—180 f. Wilamowitz's *γὰρ* for *μὲν* in 180 renders the athetesis of *πάρεστί μοι* in 181 unnecessary.—193. W. adopts Cobet's *οὐδ' Ἀχαικὸν* τὰδε for the MSS. *ἐστὶν οὐδ' Ἀχαικὸν*—unnecessarily.—211. W. does well to adopt Reiske's *αὐτανεφίων* for the MSS. *αὐτανεφίω*.—223. I would suggest that the *χωρὶς* is a commentator's remark, and that we should read *σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κακόν*.—In 300 (the middle one of three reasonably suspected verses) W. reads *κακαῖς* for the MSS. *κακοῖς*. The masc. is certainly possible when speaking of women generally, and I think most scholars would call it more idiomatic in this passage. *κακαῖς* would, I think, imply that the man in question had had more than one wife, and that all were bad ones.—315. Wecklein says the Aldine reads *ἄξιον γ'*, but the reading of the Aldine here is *ἄξιον γ'*.—324. W.'s *εὐκλεῖς* for *εὐγενῆς* is convincing, but not so his suggestion of *φθόσῃ* for *λάθῃ* (λάβῃ P) in 338.—416. The MSS. reading is *δίκαιον ῆ*. Of this W. adopts Schäfer's emendation *δίκαιον ῆν*, though Dobree's *δίκαιος ῆ* seems much better.—426. Why not adopt Musgrave's suggestion that this and the preceding verse are a question?—437 f. W. well rejects these two lines: the singular *σοὶ* is enough to condemn them.—451. W. reproduces, curiously enough, the misprint of Kirchhoff's critical notes in numbering the v. 452.—458. Elmsley's *ἀνῆρ* is adopted, but he is not mentioned as its author.—460. Tyrwhitt and not Elmsley (as W. gives) first changed *τύχη* (MSS.) to

τύχοι.—493. W.'s ἀστοῦ for the MSS. ἄλλου is mere re-writing of Euripides.—594. Kayser's κακούμενοι for the MSS. θανούμενοι seems at least as worthy of a place in the first class as Wecklein's φυλάσσει for the MSS. κελεύεις at 558.—677. For the thoroughly sound ἐξηκούμεν Wecklein suggests ἐξικνούμεθα, which gives a far inferior sense.—706. Bothe's τήνδ' (for the MSS. τήν) which W. adopts, seems inferior to Porson's σήν.—735. If δοκούντα needs correction surely Nauck's πονούντα is better than ἐγκονούντα which W. suggests alongside of it.—745 f. W. seeks to mend the ill-fitting neuter τόδ', in apposition with the fem. δόκησις by putting a comma after δαβφ. It seems better to reject the words from οὐκ ὀρθῶς to δόκησις as a spurious addition.—735. W.'s περί δαιμόνων for the MSS. καὶ περί δόμων (corrected by a late hand in L to περί τῶν δόμων) is good, as is his πόποι for πόλις in v. 763.—769. This is one of the few passages that W. leaves imperfect, though he prints two suggestions in the footnotes: one by Herwerden, and one by himself.—813 ὁ δ' οὔτε τοὺς κλύοντας αἰδεσθεὶς λόγῳ MSS. λόγῳ (or λόγῳ) gives no construction here, so the second Hervagian Ed. wrote λόγων (i.e. as the obj. of κλύοντας). This W. alters to λόγον. The gen. is possible, though less likely than the acc., and it comes nearer the MSS. reading. The position of the negatives in this passage is extraordinary.—845. W. unnecessarily alters ἐμβῆσαι to ἀμβῆσαι. For the impossible κρατούντα in v. 884 W. suggests ναύοντα, referring to Hesych. ναύειν ἱκετεύειν.—In v. 886 W.'s ἐξεῖα δευμοῖς for ἐξεῖ ἀνάγκη is 'a wild surmise,' which he should hardly have put in the second class.—911. For the θεός of the MSS, the Paris copy of L suggests τεός, an admirable emendation. It does not satisfy W. He writes ὁ σός. It is curious that at *Suppl.* 60, where Kirchhoff would emend the MSS. σὸν δὲ τὸ σὸν, W. is not content with τὸ σὸν, but writes τεόν.—930. W.'s note is 'τύχην H. Stephanus τυχεῖν L P.' The only reading recorded by H. S. from his 'codices vetustissimi,' near this passage is τύχαν at the end of 935, where the Aldine reading is τύχας (I may note that at *Cyclops* 39 W. prints κώμοις for κῶμοι L or κῶμοι P, giving Bothe as the author of the emendation, and mentions in the Appendix that H. S. proposed κῶμον. What Stephanus says is that the v. c. have κῶμους, but that he would prefer κῶμοις. Men who call the great Stephanus a liar should at all events refer to his book when they quote him.)—932. I cannot see wherein W.'s δοριπόνῳ σὺν

ἀσπίδι is an improvement on Hermann's admirable πολυπόνῳ σὺν ἀσπίδι for the MSS. πολυπόνῳ σὺν ἀσπίσιν.—959. W. here has the note 'κερδανεῖς γε ταῦτα vel potius κερδανεῖς γε πάντα.' If the former conjecture is 'minus probabilis' than the latter, why is it not banished to the appendix 'conjecturas minus probabiles continens'?—1005. W.'s ἀν λαχούσα for the MSS. ἀναλαβούσα is convincing.—1038. ἀλλ' οὐ χρησμὸν ἠρόμεν θεοῦ; MSS. Cobet's ἠζόμεν or even Musgraves ἠδόμεν seems far preferable to W.'s ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐπηνρόμεν.—(I should like to be allowed to make one further comment here, which seems to me important, on Wecklein's *Cyclops*. At v. 145 he prints Hermann and Nauck's εἰσορᾶς for the MSS. ὥς ὁρᾶς. The MSS. reading is quite sound, ὁρᾶς being *subiunctiva*. Cf. two lines above ὥς σαφέστερον μάθης; and also to suggest ἐμπολόντες for ἐμβαλόντες at v. 239 of the same play).

L AND P.

SUPPLICES.

8. This v. was first written in L without τάδε, in P with it.—9. L had at first some word that was not λιπούσαι, but began with two other letters: P always had λιπούσαι.—16. ὀλωλότας L ὀλωλότας P.—50. ῥυσσά L ῥυσά P. In P a later hand added the second σ.—228. συννοσούντα L συνοσούντα P. The emendation of Lambinus οὐ νοσούντα is undoubtedly the correct reading. This one case far outweighs, to my mind, all Wecklein's arguments on the other side drawn from cases which look as if a mistake in P was due to a misreading of a badly written letter in L. Is it more likely of the two that P's scribe had here συννοσούντα before him or οὐ νοσούντα? No doubt the first ο was so written in the MS. from which both L and P were copied that it was mistaken by both scribes for a σ, but P copied the rest of the letters as they stood, while L thought he could mend matters.—242. ἀφιᾶσι L ἀφιᾶσιν P.—344. τεκοῦσ (after the σ is an erasure of a single letter) L τεκοῦσα χ' P.—364. ἀν L ἀν P (a late hand in L added the rough breathing)—754. No doubt the correct reading is (ὦν δ') εἰνεχ' ἀγών (ῆν), to which P with οὔνεκ' ἀγών comes nearer than L with οὔνεκεν ἀγών. Is it conceivable that P should have copied from L here?—858. ἔγω γε L, ἔγω τε P, ἔγώ τε Nauck. The wrong accent makes the case doubtful, but

anyhow P seems nearer the right than L.—872. W.'s note is 'ἄλλην P, ἄλλον L sed o in ras. scr. l.' If ἄλλον is due to a late corrector of L it is not fair to say 'ἄλλον L.' If not, this is another case where P has the better reading. (I expect l was a very late hand who altered L, as in many cases which I have noticed in *I.T.*, to agree with Ald.)—897. καὶ ὅπότ' L χ' ὅπότ' P.—1078. L has μετέλλαχες but P avoids the mistake.—1116. The readings here are perplexing: ἀμεινοῦς L ἀσμένους P ἀμένους Ald. The only explanation I can give is that here again L was altered to agree with Ald. which omitted the σ by pure error. At the same time the accent in L looks as if it had been copied from a MS. which had the correct ἀμεινοῦς. If so the passage makes rather against my contention.—1164. W.'s note is; 'σε (sic scr. ut facile σῆς legas) μηρός L σῆς μηρός P' surely a far-fetched explanation of so simple a blunder. That P could make a pretty gross blunder we see in v. 1198, where he writes ἡλίου instead of Ἰλίου.

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27. συμπάσχω P, συμπράσσω L.—789. ἐλευθερώσαι changed by the first hand, apparently, to ἐλευθερώσθαι L ἐλευθερώσαι P. This does not look as if P copied from L. On the other hand, at 704, P's μῆ, W. suggests, is best explained as a misreading of L's μὲν, which is written by means of an abbreviation. So at 778 P's unaccountable λείθει, W. explains as due to the fact that in L the α of λάθει looks like εὔ.—858. ἦβη τὸν changed to ἦβητῆν L ἦβη τὴν P. Does not this case outweigh the above arguments on the other side? If P copied from L before the alteration it is inconceivable that he should have altered τὸν to τὴν: if after, it is equally inconceivable that he should have failed to accept ἦβητῆν. The only reasonable explanation of the variants is that both L and P copied independently from MSS. which had ἦβη τὴν, that P left the nonsensical words unaltered, and L altered τὴν to τὸν. In this case we have more cause to thank P than L.

E. B. ENGLAND.

BURNET'S *ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE*.

The Ethics of Aristotle, edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. BURNET, M.A.
Pp. lii, 502. Methuen. 18s.

SOME years ago it was matter of complaint that Oxford in spite of the amount of time she bestowed on the *Ethics* had done but little in the way of published writings to promote their study. Such complaint can hardly be made now, when to the old and still very useful edition of Grant there have been added Prof. Bywater's text and contributions, Prof. Stewart's two copious volumes of notes, and now Prof. Burnet's text with notes of a conciser kind. Even if we are so hard to please that we venture to think the ideal edition yet to seek, we must recognise how much of value there is in the work of each of the three, and we need not ask which among them deserves best of Aristotle or ourselves.

I will say at once that, excellent as Mr. Burnet's book is, he seems to have partly fallen into the opposite error to Mr. Stewart. The latter from his stores of learning and reflexion heaped upon us too much; too much at least for students addressing themselves to the *Ethics* for the purpose of University examinations, who were really

the class of readers he had most in view. Mr. Burnet's command of the subject is equally indisputable, but he perhaps has given us too little. One volume of 550 pages (wonderfully light to hold in the hand, thanks to Messrs. Methuen) contains not only his notes and introductions, but Aristotle's text, which Mr. Stewart did not print at all, and also very considerable portions of the *Eudemian Ethics* as well, put on each page below the text and above the notes. He writes tersely enough, but in spite of this we often feel that the notes, though very good, leave a great deal unsaid, and that a thorough commentary on the *Ethics*, such as the ordinary reader requires, cannot be packed into this comparatively scanty space. I do not know whether Mr. Burnet will be satisfied by teachers of the *Ethics* finding his book valuable. Certainly they ought to do so. But students are likely to think that it does not give them as much assistance as they need. The editor seems often to be writing such notes as would be useful rather to himself and other advanced scholars than to the man to whom the *Ethics* are not yet familiar. If the book were wholly for the maturer scholar, the case would of course be different. But it con-

tains much which such readers do not require, and chief under that head I would put the long extracts from the *Eudemian Ethics* (see for instance pp. 112, 113) which pupils will not read and teachers will not want. Any competent teacher may be presumed to have and to read the book entire. Sussemlil's text of the *Eudemian Ethics* and Fritzsche's older commentary ought to be in the hands of everyone who will really trouble to read the selections. The room they occupy might have been more usefully filled, I venture to suggest, with further commentary.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable contribution that the new edition makes is the constant reference to Plato and the frequent indication there of something to which the words of Aristotle refer or at any rate seem to owe their origin. This is no new discovery, but Mr. Burnet carries it a good deal further than earlier editors have done. It is indeed closely connected with a point on which he lays stress, that the *Ethics* is not so much a scientific as a 'dialectical' treatise. Although he does not state his precise meaning in this quite as clearly as one could wish, he seems to say that Aristotle is often arguing from premises, especially Platonic premises, which we are not bound to suppose that he himself accepted; 'nor can we even assume' he adds 'that the true solution is necessarily given at all.' Quite admitting that much of Aristotle's reasoning is of this kind and that he is most anxious to argue with people on their own ground, we may still think that Mr. Burnet suggests, if he does not adopt, a somewhat exaggerated view of the extent to which Aristotle deals in arguments and even in conclusions unsatisfactory to himself. The *Ethics* is not a piece of clever dialectic only, in which he draws men on from positions, which they and not he have adopted, to others, which they ought to accept, though he himself knows better. Surely we may say that the conclusions, the main positions taken up, are such as really satisfy him, and that most of the reasoning too is valid enough at bottom or at least seems so to him, though in a semi-popular treatise he does not always care to state things in their severest scientific form. Prof. Burnet rides his dialectical hobby rather too hard. For instance, when Aristotle says (1. 7. 1097 b 24) *εἰ ληφθεὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, he comments "this is still 'taking' *ἐνδοξοὶ προτάσεις* from the wise." Then what shall we say of *Poetics* 14. 1453 b 15 *ποῖα οὖν δεῦν ἢ ποῖα*

οἰκτὰ φαίνεται τῶν συμπιπτόντων, λάβωμεν. Does this mean 'take from other people'? Not at all. It means something like 'let us ascertain, fix,' and that is what *εἰ ληφθεὶ* means in the *Ethics*. So 1174 a 17 *κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον λάβοι τις ἂν ἡδονήν* 'no one could find, put his finger upon, a pleasure.' cf. Bonitz s.v. *λαμβάνειν* 422 b 38.

Mr. Burnet believes and assumes that Books V-VII were really Aristotle's. On this point I have not myself any decided opinion to maintain, but it seems odd he should not distinguish the two questions, (1) are they Aristotle's? and (2) are they properly a part of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and of these as we have them? Ought it not to be pointed out that, even if Aristotle wrote them or if they were made up somehow from Aristotelian material, it does not follow that they were ever meant to stand in their present form along with the present form of the other books. Mr. Burnet sees no difficulty even in the two accounts of pleasure, that is, neither in the fact of there being two accounts in one treatise nor in the apparent discrepancies that the two accounts present. This is not the place to discuss a large subject, but it is one of many points, of which fuller treatment would have been welcome.

Mr. Burnet prefixes to his edition an excellent introduction of some fifty pages, and there are also introductions to the separate books, of which those to Books I and II strike me as especially useful. A great deal is compressed into the notes, though it is also true that a good deal is not to be found there. I may venture to indicate a few points of disagreement, while fully recognising the great knowledge and ability that lie behind Mr. Burnet's commentary.

He lays it down that *λόγος* in such phrases as *λόγον ἔχειν*, *λόγον μετέχειν*, *κατὰ λόγον* &c. never means *reason* but always something like *ground*, *account*, *theory*, *rule*, &c. Positive proof one way or the other is hard to find, but to me *λόγον μετέχειν*, *ἄλογος*, *εὐλογος*, and various other habitual or occasional expressions certainly suggest the sense of *reason*. The other meaning is of course indisputable and common, but why should *λόγος* not have meant *reason* too? What would Mr. Burnet say of *ratio* or of the word *reason* itself? In 1, 10 and 11 he thinks, as Zeller seems to do, that 'there is no question of the departed being aware of what goes on in this world' after their death. No doubt this would harmonise better with what we make out to have been Aristotle's real convictions. But I must confess that

I cannot understand Chapter 11 on any other hypothesis than that some sort of consciousness, some liability to feelings of joy and sorrow, on the part of the dead is assumed, though doubtfully and presumably without any real belief.

Perhaps the only noticeable novelty in the text is 1. 5. 1096 a 6, where for $\delta\delta\epsilon$ χρηματιστής βίαιός τις ἐστίν Mr. Watt's conjecture of $\delta\delta\epsilon$ χρηματιστής βία ὅστις ἐστίν is adopted, and this will probably not be found convincing. It is hard to see the propriety, or indeed the meaning, of ὅστις ἐστίν. Mr. Burnet asks, 'Can a χρηματιστής, or even a χρηματιστής βίος, be called βίαιος in this sense?' I should answer that a χρηματιστής βίος certainly can, just as in *Pol.* 5. 4. 1338 b 41, the diet of an athlete in training is called βίαιος. In both cases the thing is only adopted because with a certain end in view there is no alternative: it is forced upon you. χρηματιστής may probably be taken as an adjective. Cf. ιδιώτης βίος in *Plat. Rep.* 578 c: ἀλήτης βίος *Herod.* 3, 52, 3: οἰκέτης βίος *Eur. Ion* 1373. Nouns in -της, like Latin words in -tor, are perhaps specially easy to use in this way. But rather than accept βία ὅστις ἐστίν I would myself read χρηματιστικός, just as I think it is clear that in 6. 8. 1142 a 10 πολιτείας is an error for πολιτικής.

In 1. 7. 1098 a 11 προστιθεμένης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας πρὸς τὸ ἔργον surely πρὸς τὸ ἔργον goes with ὑπεροχής, 'superiority at the work,' not with προστιθεμένης, 'added to the work.' In 1, 9, 1099 b 18 εἴη δ' ἂν κ. τ. λ. can hardly be 'a reservation.' It is a consequence of what precedes. If well-being comes in the way stated, then it will admit of being widely diffused, whereas, if it came by chance or divine dispensation, this would be less likely. In 2, 6, 1106 a 26 Mr. Burnet scarcely proves his point that διαπερὸν cannot be *discrete*. He ignores *Pol.* 1, 5, 1254 a 29 εἴρ' ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴρ' ἐκ διηρημένων, and what warrant is there for saying that διαπερὸν means 'infinitely divisible'? It may be true that διαπερὸν means *divisible* here, but is it really certain? He says the importance of Book IV 'is entirely missed if we imagine that Aristotle is setting before us types of character for our admiration and imitation. His aim is not edification, but the application of the test of fact to a general law.' But does not Aristotle think that all the mean states constituting the virtues and good qualities in this book are in their degrees worthy of admiration and imitation? A man ought to aim at being εὐτράπελος, able to make and

take a joke, still more at being πρᾶος. They cannot exemplify the theory of the mean at all without being desirable qualities. One may doubt again whether it is right to say that the standard or rule of the mean turns out finally to be the θεωρητικὸς βίος. In what intelligible sense does the desirability of this fix the precise point up to which I may and should feel anger or assert my own interests against those of other men? This is, of course, not the question as to the place of reason in morals, but whether the moral mean is determined by a reference to the intellectual life. Would Aristotle really have said that ὁ φρόνιμος fixed the mean with this rule or aim consciously before him and no other?

We hardly get over the difficulty of 5, 11, 1138 a 6 οὐ κελεύει ἀποκτινύναι ἐαυτὸν ὁ νόμος· ἃ δὲ μὴ κελεύει, ἀπαγορεύει by saying 'the simple interpretation and the right one is to supply ἀποκτινύναι after μὴ κελεύει. The law forbids us to kill anything which it does not expressly enjoin us to kill.' Supposing that ἀποκτινύναι should be understood, the passage still remains as hard as ever. It is not in the least true that Greeks were forbidden to kill whatever they were not expressly enjoined to kill. Were they expressly enjoined to kill fish?

As to Aristotle's division of 'particular justice' no doubt scholars will continue to differ. Mr. Stewart thinks τὸ ἀντιπεποιθὸς is included in τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον; Mr. Burnet is equally sure of its being comprised in τὸ διορθωτικόν, διορθοῦν according to him meaning to *adjust*. But, if anyone will go through all the passages where the word in its various forms is used by Aristotle, he will find that for once where it bears this meaning there are many places where it unquestionably means *correct*, *set right*, and the same thing is true of the use in Greek generally. The *Politics* will satisfy him as to Aristotle. Again, if διορθωτικόν means 'adjusting' or 'regulating *ab initio*,' how is it that throughout Ch. 4, which certainly deals with τὸ διορθωτικόν, all the cases mentioned are cases where there is a wrong to be put right? On Mr. Burnet's showing the regulative principles of Ch. 5 ought to come before the corrective principles of Ch. 4. Mixed up with this is a misunderstanding as to ἐκούσια συναλλάγματα. He will not allow that τὸ διορθωτικόν is only a principle for rectifying any wrong arising in the course of such transactions, because 'if a wrong has arisen, the συνάλλαγμα at once becomes ἀκούσιον.' This is not true. A ἐκούσιον συναλλάγμα is expressly

defined as one of which the *beginning* is voluntary (on both sides). Sale is voluntary because the two parties agree to it, nor does it cease to be voluntary because the buyer withholds the price he has covenanted to pay. At no stage can a *ἐκούσιον συνάλλαγμα* become *ἀκούσιον*. An *ἀκούσιον συνάλλαγμα* is one which was *ἀκούσιον* from the very beginning. To my mind then it is as impossible to bring τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός under the second sub-division as it is to bring it under the first. There is no difficulty at all in distinguishing it from both. The only difficulty arises from the writer's saying that there are two species and then going on to describe three.

I must add that, while feeling the objection to the common explanation of τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διαφορὰν etc. (5. 4. 1132 a 4 foll.),

I find it very hard to accept Mr. Burnet's theory that it is a compressed expression for the difference between the abstract wrong committed and the actual damage inflicted. A point so recondite would hardly have been stated in so imperfect and obscure a manner. I take it too that τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διαφορὰν stands in a certain contrast with the preceding sentence, οὐδὲν διαφέρει εἰ ἐπιεικὴς φαῦλον ἀπεστέρησε κ.τ.λ., and also with what follows, καὶ χρήται ὡς ἴσοις, as though it ran 'it is not any difference in the men, but the difference made by the act in question, that the judge has to regard. The men he treats as equal.' On Mr. Burnet's view all the antithesis would disappear.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

SEATON'S TEXT OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, edited by R. C. SEATON, late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d.

It is satisfactory that in the earliest issue of Classical Texts in the new Oxford series, Apollonius Rhodius should be included. The *Argonautica* has been strangely neglected by English scholars. It rarely appears on any list of lectures, and, so far as I know, no edition has been published in England since that of Shaw—hero of the famous 'putide Shavius' criticism—which is more than a hundred years old. In Germany Merkel brought out a very satisfactory text in the Teubner series in 1852, and a large edition in 1854, which contains a slightly altered text—generally for the better, 186 pages of prolegomena written in Latin sometimes curiously obscure, a good apparatus criticus, which gives the various readings (including the corrections) of the allimportant Codex Laurentianus, also those of the Guelferbytanus, a list of the more important emendations, and lastly, the valuable scholia of the Laurentian MS. But no exegetical commentary of any value exists: and it is to be hoped that Mr. Seaton, who has been engaged for many years on the study of Apollonius, may supply this want. It must be admitted that it is unlikely that Apollonius will ever be widely read. The poem is long; it is often dull; the

style has none of the vigour and freshness of the old Epic—wholly taken from Homer, as Couat says in his *Poésie Alexandrine*, the language is not in the least Homeric; on the contrary, in some of its traits, e.g., the employment of long passages of oratio obliqua, it shows the syntax of a late period; the attractive freedom of the Homeric syntax is gone, and we get the style of the historian, not that of Homer, nor even that of Herodotus. But the curious use of Epic words—the same word employed in every possible sense which it could bear in different passages of Homer—will always amuse the student of language. The matter also of the poem has an interest of its own. After admitting the unheroic character of the hero—Jason never leads, but is always led either by other mortals or by divinities who have nothing of the divine except the capacity of being called in *ex machina*: after granting the lack of any completeness in any style, granting (to quote Couat again) that the poem has neither the grandeur of an epic, nor the unity of a drama, nor the sustained interest of a romance—we must yet allow merit to the new romantic interest of the passion of Medea for Jason and some real interest to the narratives, the archaeology and the folk lore which are cleverly mixed with the account of the voyage in the last half of the first and of the second book. If a poet may be called in as a judge of a poet, we may believe that

Virgil found Apollonius attractive as well as useful.

The text of Apollonius as taken from the best manuscript—the well-known one (Laur. xxxii. 9) which contains also Aeschylus and Sophocles—is singularly good: and Merkel did his work so well that he left little for later editors to do. There is hardly any room for emendation in the absence of corrupt passages: the obelus with which Mr. Seaton marks these occurs only nine or ten times, nearly half in the last book: and no one could have blamed the insertion in the text of the easy remedies which some of these permit, e.g., at 1.8, of *μετέπειτ' ἔπειν κατὰ βᾶξιν* for *μετέπειτα † τεῖν † κ.τ.λ.* In his short and sensible preface he says that he assigns more weight than Merkel did to the two Vatican codices: but where

he follows them in any reading, Merkel (so far as I have observed) had done the same: and, at least in the large edition by Merkel, the same is true of readings taken from the scholia. Mr. Seaton emends 3.936 by reading *οὔτε* (for *οὐ δέ*) *σε Κύπρις οὔτε . . . ἐπιπνέουσιν ἔρωτες*—a change which is not necessary for the Greek, nor, I think, an improvement: at 4.1015 *ἐκδῶς* may be a better form than *ἐκδῶγς*. In matters of orthography he has forsaken his MS. in writing the common *οὐδέ, νῆσονδε, ὑπὸ κρήνη*, for *οὐ δέ, νῆσον δέ, ὑπο κρήνη*, and the like. He has thus given his text a more familiar aspect, but there is fair reason for believing that the MS., which Merkel follows, presents the true pre-Aristarchean forms.

JOHN PEILE.

CARTAUTL ON HORACE'S SATIRES.

Étude sur les Satires d'Horace. Par A. CARTAUTL. (Paris: 1899. F. Alcan. 370 pp. 11 Fr.)

THE reader who opens a large work on the Satires of Horace by a professor of Latin Poetry in the University of Paris, will probably expect to be charmed and instructed while he reads, and to carry away in his memory some large generalizations which, if not wholly true, are at least novel and ingenious and plausible. M. Cartault, perhaps, has some such work *in petto*, but his present book is certainly not of the kind that we are wont to receive from French scholars. It consists mainly of many different summaries and analyses of the *Satires*, made with intent to prove certain theses which are not new, and which, even when they were new, did not require to be proved exhaustively. Thus in chap. i. 'Circonstances dans lesquelles Hor. a composé ses Satires,' many satires (e.g. I. 1. 6. 8. 9) which have a biographical interest are briefly summarised (pp. 30–34). In chap. ii. 'Publication et Chronologie des Satires' it is mentioned that in Book II. Hor. prefers dialogue to narrative, and this is immediately proved by a summary of most of the satires of that book (pp. 56–59). Next in chap. iii. on 'La composition des Satires—Idée fondamentale,' etc. it is first shown, by analysis, that in Bk. I. each satire usually has two or three themes, but

in Bk. II. only one, and then follow more elaborate analyses (pp. 64–98) to show that Hor. had no preconceived plan, but that ideas came to him in writing. In chap. iv. 'Procédés de Développement et de Raisonnement' we have first of all summaries to show how Hor. uses the particular for the general or vice versa, and how he suppresses transitional thoughts, and then further summaries to show the nature of the arguments employed, inductive here and deductive there. In the next chapter 'Procédés d'Exposition,' three favourite devices of Hor. are discussed and three several times we are taken through the *Satires* in order, first, to find all the instances of the 'interlocuteur fictif,' secondly, to find all the places at which a named character (as Ofellus) speaks in his own person, and thirdly, to note all the anecdotes. At p. 174 we reach 'Procédés de Style' and go through the text over and over again, collecting every instance of rhetorical question (pp. 181–193), apostrophe (193, 194), polysyndeton and asyndeton (195–213), and so forth. A brief specimen taken from this part will exhibit M. Cartault's method very well. On pp. 219–229 he is calling attention to Hor.'s use of vulgar or colloquial Latin. This is how he does it (p. 220):

'S. I. 7. 1. *Rupili pus atque venenum*, expression grossière qui marque le

mépris d'H. pour le personnage. 2. Hybrida...Persius, expression méprisante. 31. compellans...cuculum, reproduction d'une injure usuelle. 35. hunc regem iugulas, expression familière, à sa place, étant donné l'adversaire.'

In the following ten pages every other satire is treated in the same way; then we have eleven similar pages on 'l'expression concrète et pittoresque,' and so on for nearly fifty pages more. There are chapters of the same sort on 'l'emploi des noms propres' (pp. 283-322), on philosophy in the *Satires*, and on 'la genèse et la valeur des idées morales,' but even M. Cartault's industry was unequal to compiling an index. I should admire this industry more if it led to any discoveries, but it does not. M. Cartault's opinions, after all, are the same as those of every casual reader. Here is one of his conclusions (p. 140):

'En résumé, la caractéristique du raisonnement dans les S. est la suivante: H. évite la structure rigoureuse de l'argument, qui donnerait à ses S. une apparence dogmatique. Le raisonnement n'a jamais chez lui, lorsqu'il parle en son propre nom, sa forme scolastique complète. Il faut souvent le deviner sous une confidence personnelle, sous une anecdote, etc. Mais il est de la plus haute importance de le restituer mentalement pour l'intelligence des S. Quant à sa valeur, elle est très inégale. Bien qu'aimant beaucoup la discussion, H. n'est pas un puissant raisonneur, un de ces logiciens impeccables, qui ne disent que des choses justes et justement enchaînées. Il raisonne parfois à côté et il se contente de paraître, sur le moment, n'avoir pas

tort. Il est fin, ingénieux; il ne se préoccupe point de construire des démonstrations définitives et qui résistent à toute attaque. Il n'approfondit pas volontiers; il se borne à jeter des idées toujours intéressantes et qui piquent la curiosité, mais qui parfois, à la réflexion, sont contestables et auxquelles on voudrait des assises plus solides.'

This opinion is the result of forty-two large and closely-printed pages of laborious analysis, but I must confess that, for my part, I was convinced before I had read the whole chapter.

The book, it will be seen, is a series of running commentaries, each written from its own point of view. The chief *cruces* are usually discussed in footnotes, in which M. Cartault displays a meticulous knowledge of every German criticism. At I. 1,108 (*qui nemo ut auarus*) he thinks there is a lacuna of some lines. He would omit 4, 11 and rearrange the lines 8-12. At 6, 14 he proposed *negante* for *notante* some years ago and repeats the suggestion here. At 10, 66 he proposes *quam rudis e Graecis inlati carminis auctor*, which would refer to Ennius. These, I believe, are the only novelties in criticism. In exegesis I do not observe any novelties at all. I should, however, call attention (1) to some very interesting remarks (pp. 16-20) on Horace's social position when he returned to Rome after Philippi and his relations with Hermogenes, the *ambubaiarum collegia* and all the other Bohemians of the great city: and (2) to M. Cartault's discussion of Horace's use of proper names. He is emphatically of opinion that Horace satirised living persons under their real names.

J. Gow.

COCCHIA'S *TRISTIA* OF OVID.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium libri quinque. Revisione del testo e commento a cura di ENRICO COCCHIA. G. B. Paravia, Torino — Roma — Milano — Firenze — Napoli. 1900. 2 lire.

THIS handy edition of the *Tristia* deserves high praise: the editor shows good judgment and good scholarship. The text is

explained in short notes printed beneath it. The brief preface gives an accurate account of the Lorenzian MS., and of Politian's collation of the two lost MSS. rediscovered by myself in the Bodleian library. The preeminence of the Lorenzian MS., and of the family allied to it, is insisted upon, and doubts suggested by Thomas, *Revue Critique*, 1890, p. 46, are summarily dismissed.

Cocchia draws attention to the excellence of the emendations of Gronovius and Bentley, 'which' he says 'present the character not only of perfect evidence but of true genius, qualities which appear to be quite absent from or forgotten in the more recent criticism.' Heinsius deserved to be mentioned with these giants of criticism: for Heinsius did more for Ovid's text than any other scholar. Cocchia follows Bentley in the following places: iii. 5, 3 *nec*; iv. 3, 34 *non es?* at [tacitly]; v. 1, 16 *praemoneo, non est*; v. 5, 32 *consilio fugiunt aethera, Ponte, tuum*; v. 12, 53 *si qua*. In ii. 296 *uir*, and iv. 4, 47 *uium* he follows Bentley it is true, but the readings have been subsequently discovered in MSS.

The text is a fresh recension, based on the materials collected in my edition. In doubtful passages, the MSS. reading is given along with the conjecture admitted into the text, reasons being sometimes assigned, sometimes not. The notes are concise, but adequate; no parallel passages are quoted. Though brief, these notes leave little untouched that calls for comment.

The handling of the text is not always fortunate: thus i. 1, 21 Riese's unnecessary conjecture *legendus* is printed, without one word to suggest that it is a conjecture, or that the MSS. reading is *legendum*, which is certainly right. In the same poem line 26 *peior* is printed without comment. This reading has poor authority: and *maior* the reading of the better MSS., though harder, appears to be right, and should have been mentioned. The meaning is, 'Do not defend yourself, a bad case will become more difficult through your defence.' i. 1, 112 *ii qui* printed in the text, is incorrectly stated to be the reading of Guelf. and Vat. These MSS. have *hii qui*, which stands not for *ii qui* but *hi qui*, which I have restored to the text. i. 6, 2 *Battis* is incorrectly printed for *Bittis*. v. 5, 45 *nata pudicitia est, moris probitasque fidesque* the reading of AGHPV is printed; though it seems to be hardly Latin. *Morum*

would be required. I have edited *oris*, which still seems to me most probable, and should certainly have been mentioned.

I proceed to notice a few points in the commentary. i. 2, 55 *et mandare suis, aliquā et sperare sepulcrum*, is printed, with the note *aliquā* 'in qualche parte sicura.' The editor goes on to remark that its indefinite meaning precludes us from taking *aliqua* as the object of *mandare*, and that if it were the object, it would be necessary to change *sepulcrum* into *sepulcra*. But *mandare* positively requires an object, and the meaning is 'to give some poor instructions to one's kinsfolk.' i. 2, 83 *obligor ut tangam* is wrongly explained '*obligor* scil. *votis*.' i. 2, 101 the extraordinary reading *quolibet et minimis domui si favimus illi* is introduced: *quolibet* is explained as an ablative of means: 'if I have supported the imperial house by any act even in the smallest matters.' This seems hardly possible, and there is no difficulty about the best attested reading *quod licet et minimis* 'a thing which the humblest may do.' On ii. 94 the court of the *centumviri* is wrongly described as a criminal court. ii. 95 *res quoque privatas statui sine crimine iudex* means that Ovid acted as an arbitrator in *iudicia privata*. The note is misleading: '*iudex* come uno dei giudici invitati dal pretore a far parte del suo tribunale.' ii. 478 *ut male velle sequens sciat et revocare priorem* is an ingenious restoration: it is explained as 'to follow up and design damage to the opposite side.' iv. 10, 80 the editor follows me in restoring *matris proxima busta tui* as against the usually accepted conjecture of Heinsius *matris—iusta*. Heinsius objected to *busta ferre* as *vix Latinum*. The editor correctly explains '*portai al sepolcro le ceneri*'; but as he never quotes parallels, he does not attempt to support this. The justification I think is to be found in Lucan viii. 850 *summusque feret tua busta sacerdos*: cp. ix. 67 *numquam dare busta licebit*? where however some MSS. have *iusta*.

S. G. OWEN.

STEWART'S HOMILIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv., with translation and notes. By H. F. STEWART, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1900. 4s.

THE Latin patristic writers have suffered terrible things at the hands of their English

translators. In each of the three well-known series of translations instances may be found of divines who have ventured, on the strength of reminiscences, perhaps somewhat dim, of classical Latinity, to render into English writings of the third or fourth century. Countless passages have been

reduced to nonsense by such assumptions as that *denique* at that date meant 'finally,' and by ignorance of the fact that *ut* is normally a consecutive, and not a final, particle, unless it be fortified by *ad hoc* or something similar. Mr. Stewart is too good a scholar to fall into such errors as these. With one or two small exceptions, such as a mistranslation of *utique* on p. 44, his translation is as accurate as it is pleasant to read.

St. Augustine's Homilies are, for a student of Latin, among the least interesting of his writings, and those on St. John's Gospel, in which he is overpowered, almost to the loss of individuality of style, by the impressive simplicity of the text on which he is commenting, are particularly disappointing. Their permanent value, for the purpose for which they were composed, cannot be overstated. They are characteristic of Augustine at his best in thought and feeling; they are not so characteristic of him as a representative writer of the end of the fourth century. Rhetorician as he was, and master of several styles, he had a curious power of dropping his rhetoric when he undertook, in homilies or commentaries, to interpret Scripture. Not that he can always resist the temptation; but such flowers of oratory as that which occurs in Tract. 78, 2 '*hoc attendat Arianus et attentione sit sanus, ne contentione sit vanus aut, quod est peius, insanus*' are as rare in his exegetical writings as they are common in his Sermons. At the beginning of the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* he speaks of his '*incultus in nostra festinatione sermo*.' But there was certainly a deeper cause than that of haste. For the rhetorical training worked itself into the very nature of those who had undergone it. Pagan and Christian alike, they may be careless, verbose, involved, even (as Cyprian is) at times ungrammatical, but they instinctively employ the tricks of their trade; their terminal rhythms, in particular, fall without an effort into the accepted forms. It was easier for them to obey, than to disobey, the 'Law' of Meyer. Augustine, making all allowances for such exceptions as that mentioned above, stands apart from the rest. Not that he was less rhetorical in training than they; Norden, in his interesting *Antike Kunstprosa*, has shown from the

Sermons that he follows the general rules, and has made the valuable observation that Augustine was the first to form his rhythms by accent instead of quantity. This is not the case in the *De Civitate Dei*, which was at least as worthy of Norden's attention as the Sermons; indeed, that writer has not given Augustine the space that was his due, though he was right to omit the exegetical writings from his survey.

These must be regarded as composed with a deliberate rejection of what passed for eloquence at the time. In them the grammar is the chief point of interest for the non-theological student. Mr. Stewart deserves our thanks for the short account of its peculiarities which he has given; though he would have done well to make a rigid separation between that of the Latin Bible and of Augustine. They are as distinct in character as in date. But his notes, both in his Hints on Grammar and in the Commentary, are sound and good. He is sometimes too comprehensive, as when he brings in prehistoric roots to illustrate the Latin of the decadence, and sometimes a little ambitious, as in his treatment of *sacramentum*; and he should not have indulged in a moralising, after the style of Trench, upon past tenses. The later Romans, whatever their creed, misused them. Apparently they, like British schoolboys, took *missus sum* to mean 'I am sent,' and on that hypothesis constructed a new scheme of tenses; and this exaggeration of the compound forms spread to the simple, so that to express an imperfect a pluperfect has to be used. One or two points may be named which deserved illustration. The suppression of the antecedent before a relative pronoun or particle is often confusing; and the idiom *sui sperantes = qui in eum sperant*, and the extended use of substantives in *-tor* might well have had a note.

The exhibition of the Biblical text of these Homilies in parallel columns with the Vulgate and African Latin is useful. By an unfortunate accident, *k* and *e* are transposed on p. xxi. But the chief interest of Mr. Stewart's work is the grammatical. We are justified in hoping that some day he will publish notes on texts of later Latin which shall rival those of the Abbé Léonard.

E. W. WATSON.

AN OLD FRENCH TRANSLATION OF CICERO'S *RHETORICA*.

Notice sur la Rhétorique de Cicéron. Traduit par Maître JEAN D'ANTIOCHE, MS. 590 du Musée Condé, par M. Léopold Delish (Tiré des Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques). Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

THE well-known librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale has unearthed in the Musée Condé at Chantilly a very interesting early French translation of Cicero's '*Rhetorica*,' of which he has published an account, accompanied by two facsimile plates, and copious extracts. The translation was made at Acre for Guillaume de Saint-Etienne, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, by John of Antioch, 'also called de Harens,' in the year 1282. (It is curious that the date is on fol. 1 given as MCCC.LXXXII, on fol. 12 as M.CC.LXXII, while the true date MCC.LXXXII is only given on fol. 13). The Chantilly MS. is probably an original copy, and the translation has been carefully corrected, and other renderings in some places substituted. The translator has thrown the two books *de Inventione* and the four *ad Herennium* into one series, divided into 206 chapters. Two preliminary sections are prefixed, dealing with the various divisions of knowledge, and explain-

ing, among other things, how 'sermocinal science' is divided into grammar, logic and rhetoric. 'Grammaire fut amendée et parfaite par Precien. Aristot fist logique. Et Marc Tulles Ciceron fut especial auctour de rethorique... cette art de rethorique avoit esté trouvée par les Grifons,' &c., &c. In the epilogue the translator explains the principles which had guided him: Quar chascune langue si a ses proprietiez et sa manière de parler, et par ce nul translateur o interpreteur ne porroit jamais bien translater d'une langue a autre, s'il ne s'enformait a la manière et as proprietiez de cele langue en qui il translate; por laquel chose il covint au translateur de ceste science de translater aucune fois parole por parole, et aucune fois et plus sovent sentence por sentence, et aucune fois por la grant oscurté de la sentence li covint il sozjoindre et acréiste.' A second section is devoted to a sketch of logic, and to showing how reasoning, and especially the 'entimème' differs from rhetoric, in order that 'Brother Guillaume' may be more subtle in all questions.

This translation does not contribute much to the criticism of the text, but it is of some interest as a specimen of style and diction.

A. S. W.

WALKER'S *SEQUENCE OF TENSES*.

The Sequence of Tenses in Latin, a Study based on Caesar's Gallic War. By A. T. WALKER, Professor of Latin in the University of Kansas. 8vo. pp. iv, and 52. Lawrence, Kansas, 1899.

THE most acute and elaborate research may be entirely thrown away if its results are set down in a form which no one can understand. To apply such a truism to a particular case is a rather thankless task, and if Professor Walker's Dissertation contained no more serious matter than is commonly found in other Degree-Theses, its weaknesses might be ignored. But he has undertaken to deal with a question which is of first-rate importance to all students of Latin; and it is clear that he has conducted the

enquiry itself with the industry, the thoroughness and the syntactical discrimination which we expect from one of Professor Hale's pupils. His conclusions are interesting and attractive, *a priori*, since they seem to offer a rationalised version of the old rule of Sequence. But the author's object was to establish them by direct evidence; and in this, so far as his readers are concerned, he must be said to have failed. A little more patience in recording the results of his enquiry, a little sober criticism of obscure and faulty wording, and a day spent in making an Index Locorum might have made this dissertation a contribution to Grammar of permanent value. But as it is now presented the body of the paper is a wilderness of bare references, separated into blocks

by lines of definition, always curt, often perplexing, and sometimes quite unintelligible.¹ A line of numbers is no better evidence than 'what the soldier said.' Seeing that the whole argument turns on the precise significance of single forms, it is surely not too much to ask, first, that the one word or the two words for which each passage is cited should be added to the figures; and secondly and chiefly, that at least two or three cogent examples of every general statement should be printed at length—a dozen where the point is novel or difficult. In pp. 12–25, where comparatively simple cases are dealt with, the author does give one example of each rule before plunging into figures; but at this point he relaxes even his own standard, and in pp. 33–46, which contain all the hard cases, he prints no examples at all, save for a few of the subdivisions on pp. 38–40. Nor is it merely the reader who suffers. Such a misprint or miswriting as 'conclusions' (p. 37 l. 2), for (I suppose) 'comparisons' could hardly have passed uncorrected if the author had written out the solitary example which he has to cite (*alio tempore atque oportuerit*) instead of blinding his own eyes by giving only the reference. This kind of accident awakens uncomfortable doubts as to the worth of the references generally. In short, the reader will be able to judge whether the evidence supports or throws doubt on the author's conclusions, when, and only when, he has spent at least as much time in completing the work as the author has spent in beginning it.²

But enough has been said to show that the dissertation needs to be re-written; it is a much pleasanter task to urge that it is extremely well worth re-writing. The object of

the study was to test the truth of a dictum of Professor Hale's which amounted to a denial of the existence of any law of Sequence, by a minute scrutiny of the meaning of every dependent Tense-form, Indicative or Subjunctive, in Caesar's Gallic War. The author starts by analysing the meanings of the Indicative Tenses into their elements, 'Time-sphere' and 'Stage of Action (completed, in process, or imminent,)' noting that aoristic Tenses denote only the Time-sphere without indicating the Stage of Action. Besides the aoristic uses of Present, Perfect and Future, he would recognise, and justly, an aoristic Pluperfect and Future Perfect, which simply state that an event occurred or will have occurred before some other past or future event, but in no way describe it; since it precedes another, it must be, of course, completed, but the speaker is not concerned with this aspect of it.³ In 'he arrived after you had gone,' the Pluperfect is aoristic; whereas in 'after he had made a fortune he cut all his old friends,' the speaker directs attention to the result of a process; the Stage of the action is emphasised and the Tense may be fairly called 'Descriptive.'⁴ For the Subjunctive Tenses a double use is laid down, one corresponding to the same Tenses of the Indicative, the other containing a reference to some future time, measured from a present or a past standpoint. Thus the Present Subjunctive serves both as Present and Future; the Imperfect, as Imperfect and Future to the Past, and so forth. (A more minute analysis is attempted in c.v, which appears in some respects doubtful, and in any case irrelevant to questions of Sequence).

The author next proceeds (p. 8) to give an admirable definition of Sequence, which whether it be original or not—and it seems to be given as such—will, I feel sure, be gratefully accepted by other students of Grammar. The description of the Perf. Subj. in e.g., *rogo quid fecerit* as aorist, is new to me but, I think, quite convincing, in view of the fact that a following Subjunc-

¹ In some passages the author has stated (or printed) precisely what he does not mean. For instance on p. 40 we read as the title of a Class: 'The present of a general truth following a past in indirect question.' But if the reader verifies the reference he finds that it is not the Past that is in the Indirect Question, but the Present. A note seems to be omitted on p. 3, l. 20, and p. 30, footnote.

² Compared to this radical defect mere faults of style, such as the absence of capital letters (so that, e.g., 'the present' denotes both a Tense and a time), are venial enough. But the use of novel technical terms without any explanation is particularly tiresome. By looking up some of the references the reader may find the meaning of 'clauses in congruence' and 'clauses in coincidence' (p. 42); but I have completely failed to discover what kind of clauses are in 'pseudo-coincidence'—a term which Prof. Walker finds room to condemn but not to explain. He merely gives an example the difference of which from those cited under 'congruence' I have not grasped.

³ The haphazard examples which follow are not taken from Prof. Walker, but I think they represent his meaning.

⁴ On pp. 21 and 24 the author makes special subdivisions of Descriptive and Aoristic Pluperfects, in which the action 'both began and ended at the same time as the action of the Principal Verb' (on which either depends). So far as I can see this is not a correct statement of the force of the Tense in the examples he quotes; and it is certainly in direct contradiction to the definition of the Pluperfect meanings (p. 6).

tive is regularly in a Secondary Tense (*rogo quid curaverit ne ires*). All cases of Sequence¹ fall under one or other of three categories of which the first two are meant to apply to Dependent Verbs in the Indicative and Subjunctive alike.

'1. All Tenses of Stage that belong to the same Time-sphere as the Principal Verb are said to be "in Sequence"; e.g. all Descriptive Imperfects... depending on a Past Tense. But a Tense of Stage depending on a Verb of a different Time-sphere, as an Imperfect depending on a Present, is not in Sequence.'²

2. The Aorist is in Sequence with a Present, and the aoristic Pluperfect with a Past. The Aorist is the Tense, the user of which, so to speak, stands in the present and looks back at the past... The reverse does not hold good; a Present or Perfect depending on an Aorist is out of Sequence; so too an Aorist depending on an Aorist is out of Sequence. The relations between a Past and an aoristic Pluperfect are precisely the same as between a Present and an Aorist.....

3. A Subjunctive with future meaning is in Sequence if its "point of reference," past or present [*i.e. the point of time from which the action of the Subjunctive Verb is or was looked forward to*] belongs to the Time-sphere of the Principal Verb. That is, a Future from the Past (Imperfect) is in Sequence with a Past Verb.'

The only point in these canons about which, perhaps, some doubt may be felt is the statement that an Aorist is out of Sequence with an Aorist. The combination is of course frequent, both when the dependent verb is in the Indicative and when it is in the Subjunctive (though with this latter Mood its use is comparatively restricted); the question is what the Romans themselves felt in using it. Did they feel it a natural use of the Tenses, or a strained one? So far as the Subjunctive in Latin is concerned there can, I think, be no doubt that Professor Walker's view is correct, because of the preponderance of the Imperfect over the Perfect in Result Clauses such as (*B.G.*, 1, 39, 1) *tantus timor . . . exercitum occupavit ut . . . omnium mentes animosque perturbaret*.³ Whatever the origin

of this use may have been, it would not have persisted unless the combination had been felt more natural than that with the Perfect (Aorist) Subjunctive in spite of the greater fitness of the latter Tense to denote a single result. And I do not see how this feeling of the naturalness of the Imperfect can be called anything but a feeling of Sequence, whether it was itself the original cause of the combination, or was partly the cause and partly the effect of it.

But with dependent Tenses of the Indicative the feeling is by no means so clear. So far as I can understand Professor Walker's view it is that such a combination as 'I went because he compelled me,' is logically out of Sequence, but grammatically permissible because of its convenience, *i.e.* its naturalness in expressing what the speaker is actually thinking, in a very large number of cases; and that no restrictions arising from a Sequence feeling grew up in the Indicative, though they did in the Subjunctive (p. 49 f.) because of the special meanings it had in the uses in which it first became subordinate.⁴ The logical point seems to me doubtful, for the combination sounds quite regular when the subordinate Verb describes a State, e.g. in 'he came because I wished it';—no one in England says 'because I was wishing it'; and in any case it is better, surely, to admit frankly that in Latin Sequence exists merely for the Subjunctive. This is, in fact, the author's conclusion (see especially p. 50), but as his enquiry was made to ascertain whether there was any feeling of Sequence in the use of the Subjunctive Tenses which did not apply equally to the Indicative, he was led to employ the word in a neutral, and, as I think it appears, an incorrect sense.

The author then proceeds, with equal acuteness and zeal, to classify every dependent Tense form in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* according to its Tense and its precise time- and stage-meaning, and those of its governing Verb. He finds only thirteen Subjunctives that are out of Sequence, against 1861 in Sequence. From the way in which the examples are recorded, or

¹ I cannot understand why the author 'excepts' two classes of clauses (on p. 8); on p. 7 he has shown that one of them is not in Sequence at all.

² The original wording runs 'is an exception,' which does not seem to express what the author means. And in this extract and in those that follow below, anyone who dislikes capital letters must please blame the reviewer not the author.

³ The list of references for the Impf. is given on p. 31, for the Perf. on p. 40. Like the other lists, they need verifying and perhaps sifting, but on such a point as this they may no doubt be taken as approximately correct.

⁴ For instance in *oro facias* and *orabam faceres* the wish which the Subjunctive expresses is not completely intelligible without some indication, or assumption, (1) of the person who felt or feels it, and (2) of the time at which it is or was felt (as well as of the time to which it refers which the Subjunctive Verb itself expresses). The first of these, it is clear, is implied by the subordination to the Principal Verb, the second by the choice of a Tense which corresponds to that of the Principal Verb, *i.e.* by Sequence.

rather, concealed, it is impossible to feel confidence in these figures. But the conclusion of the whole matter is worth quoting (p. 52).

'I believe that in Caesar every Tense of the Subjunctive and Indicative alike has its own meaning, and is never wrested from that meaning by a rule of Sequence.¹ But I believe also that Caesar had a feeling of Sequence that led him to avoid irregular [i.e. *non-sequent*] uses of the Subjunctive and gave him [*sic*] a tendency to use an equivalent Indicative construction if possible, or otherwise to recast the sentence.'

The chief example of this tendency is given on p. 47.

When Caesar wishes to express a past reason for or against a past act he uses with apparent indifference the Subjunctive with *cum* or Indicatives with *quod*, etc. . . . But Caesar is very fond of giving a still existing reason for a past act, and the Verb which expresses the reason must, of course, be in the Present. Now in every case of this kind Caesar uses one of the Indicative constructions, avoiding the Subjunctive (C. X. 3, 2).

These statements are *a priori* so probable, i.e., they accord so well with the traditional view, that I have no doubt they are substantially correct, in spite of the hesitation which must be felt as to the author's collection of evidence.

One more reservation, however, must be made. All Primary Tenses which are retained in Or. Obliqua by what is called *repraesentatio*, are treated in a very summary manner. 'Presents and Perfects depending on a Past are given [i.e. *counted*] as if they were the Imperfects and Pluperfects for which they stand' (p. 11). This declaration is at least frank, and it has the merit of limiting the enquiry by absolutely disregarding a thorny question. But it appears to have involved the author in some confusion, at all events of expression. I can only confess that the

passages in which *repraesentatio* is mentioned (pp. 35, 36 and 41), and the reason deduced for excluding twenty-three of the thirty-six exceptions to Sequence which Heynacher counted are completely obscure to me; though I have studied them more than once in the hope of getting light upon a question which has occupied me for some time past, namely, the strange variations of Sequence which appear in 're-presented' passages in the historians—e.g. 1, 8, 2 *quo facilius si transire conarentur prohibere possit*—a collocation which Professor Walker's somewhat drastic method enables him to regard without uneasiness. This is not the place to advance the views which I have been led to form, but I hope to deal at length with the whole matter ere long, and I shall be very greatly helped by Professor Walker's definitions. Here I will only say that on this question of *repraesentatio* we appear to start from opposite points of the horizon. To him the Secondary tenses are the true and original forms, the Primary are mere rhetorical interlopers. To me the problem is to trace the gradual process of infection by which what I may call the Secondary tone spread from the Subjunctives in immediate dependence upon the Past introductory Verb, and probably also from the Unreal but half-independent Past Jussive, to all the Dependent Verbs in the heart of the actual speech, until we reach the uniformity which is commended by our school-grammars, but which in speeches of any length is comparatively rarely practised by any one but Cicero. *Sed nunc non erat his locus*.

Let me conclude by expressing the admiration which I heartily feel for the courage with which Professor Walker has carried through a most laborious study and the high degree of precision to which he has pushed his analysis of the Tense-meanings. If he can find the leisure so to expand and elucidate his account of the enquiry as to make its form worthy of its substance, he will render a permanent service to Latin Grammar.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF,
December, 1900.

¹ This of course is not the only effect of Sequence. A Primary governing Verb demands a Perfect in the Subjunctive of Indirect Questions, whether the original question had the Perfect or Imperfect or Pluperfect. This 'flattening out' Prof. Walker denies altogether for Caesar. It is surprising to learn that there are no parallels in Caesar to the examples quoted from Cicero by, e.g., Allen and Greenough, § 387 b, 3.

RECENT VEDIC LITERATURE.

A History of Sanskrit Literature, by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit. (Short Histories of the Literatures of the World, IX.). London: Wm. Heinemann. 1900. 6s.

Hymns of the Atharvaveda, together with extracts from the ritual books and the commentaries, translated by MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLII). Clarendon Press, 1897. 21s.

The Atharvaveda, by MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, II. 1 b). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1899. 6M.

Vedische Opfer und Zauber, von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, III. 2). Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1897. 9M. 50.

THE appearance of the first of these books in a popular series is a matter of no little interest. It has long been an affectation of the educated classes in England to ignore the existence within the British Empire of languages and literatures other than their own. That the classical literature of more than one half of the Queen's subjects is written in Sanskrit has not sufficed to make it an exception: and such interest as has hitherto been shown by the general public has been chiefly won by reflected views of the studies of Germany and America. Professor Macdonell has aptly signalized his accession to the Boden chair by the publication of this work, the first history in English of Sanskrit literature as a whole: a fact which he records, not with the note of triumph to which we have become accustomed in this department of study

inuat immemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri

but with an expression of surprise and almost of shame which comes with more dignity from one who identifies himself with his University, and feels that it is no matter of pride that the young men who leave our shores every year to become the rulers of India have so long been left without any connected or adequate account of the literature which affords a key to the civilisation of its millions of citizens.

The popular character of this book does not cover any want of thoroughness or accuracy in detail: the appended bibliography

would alone make it invaluable to students. One half of the volume is given up to a study of the Vedas, at the cost of the exclusion of a full account of the technical literature of law, science, and art, in order that the reader may lay a solid foundation for a general view of Indian civilisation by a real acquaintance with the life and thought of Ancient India. As Professor Macdonell in his work on 'Vedic Mythology' was singularly reticent in the expression of his own conclusions from the mass of materials which he there collected and ordered, this part of the book has the importance of an original and fairly full study of the Rigveda and Atharvaveda. It is illustrated by original and tasteful renderings of numerous selected passages from these works, translated into English unrhymed verse, after the example of Grassmann. The English metres reproduce 'as far as possible' the measures of the original: that is, they bear precisely the same resemblance to them that Longfellow's Hexameters or Tennyson's Alcaics bear to the classical metres. Rhyme is avoided, as 'misrepresenting the original Sanskrit.' It might have been well to warn the reader that the English accentual rhythm is equally strange to the original.

The following are instances of Professor Macdonell's translations:—

HYMN TO NIGHT. (Rigveda x. 127).

Night coming on, the goddess shines
In many places with her eyes:
All-glorious she has decked herself.

Immortal goddess, far and wide
She fills the valleys and the heights:
Darkness with light she overcomes.

And now the goddess coming on
Has driven away her sister Dawn:
Far off the darkness hastes away.

Thus, goddess, come to us to-day,
At whose approach we seek our homes,
As birds upon the tree their nest.

The villagers have gone to rest,
Beasts too with feet and birds with wings:
The hungry hawk himself is still.

Ward off the she-wolf and the wolf,
Ward off the robber, goddess Night:
And take us safe across the gloom.

TO VARUNA. (Atharvaveda iv. 16).

This earth is all king Varuna's dominion,
And that broad sky whose boundaries are distant.
The loins of Varuna are these two oceans,
Yet in this drop of water he is hidden.

*He that should flee afar beyond the heaven
Would not escape King Varuna's attention :
His spies come hither, from the sky descending
With all their thousand eyes the earth surveying.*

*King Varuna discerns all that's existent
Between the earth and sky, and all beyond them :
The winkings of men's eyes by him are counted ;
As gamblers dice, so he lays down his statutes.*

The drawback to this method of translation is obvious. Unrhymed verse is only known in English in association with the epic style, than which nothing can be further from the character of a Vedic hymn. The dignity of the latter of these hymns would come more home to English readers if it were translated into measured prose upon the model of the revised version of the *Psalms* or the *Book of Wisdom* : whilst the simplicity of the former would be better brought out by the conventional 'tags.' The question is not unimportant, since a standard translation of the two Vedas must be hoped for at no very distant date.

In the opening chapters of the book we find a short sketch of the history of Sanskrit philology, in which due honour is paid to the pioneers of the latter half of the eighteenth century : and a general sketch of Vedic literature to the time of Buddha. Chapter III deals, amongst other matters, with the metres of the Rigveda. The account of the *Trishtubh* and *Jagati* metres is so short as to leave a false impression : neither is the existence of the caesura mentioned, nor the law that the iambic rhythm must be broken near the commencement of the second half of the verse by making the sixth syllable short. Chapter IV deals with the 'Poetry of the Rigveda,' which is well defined as a 'body of skilfully composed hymns, produced by a sacerdotal class and meant to accompany the Soma oblation and the fire-sacrifice of melted butter.' After this, it is rather strange to read that 'its poetry is marred by frequent references to the sacrifice.' It would be equally appropriate to say that a pre-Raphaelite landscape is 'marred' by the St. Sebastian in the foreground, or ivy by the old building to which it clings. Underlying the phrase is the assumption that the hymns of the Rigveda are or should be addressed to personifications of Nature. This is next somewhat naively admitted in the argument that it (the Rigveda) 'is on the whole much more natural than might under these conditions be expected. For the gods who are invoked are nearly all personifications of the phenomena of Nature.' Here we have unveiled the true history of the genesis of

the sun-myth. It is natural to worship Nature. From this ambiguous and unproven major premiss, coupled with the equally questionable minor, that 'the mythology of the Rigveda represents an earlier stage of thought than is to be found in any other literature' we arrive at a dogmatic principle of interpretation against which detailed criticism is powerless. Thus the name of the god Varuna still 'seems' to the writer to have originally meant the 'encompassing sky,' and is still identified with the Greek *οὐρανός*, although the character of the god, as sketched by him 'as nearly as possible in the words of the Vedic poets themselves,' does not in the least bear out this interpretation. With equally little reason Savitri, the 'Stimulator,' is said to be a solar deity, as representing the quickening activity of the sun : and we are told of Pūshan, the 'Prosperer,' that 'the conception underlying his character seems to be the beneficent power of the sun, manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity,' and again of Vishnu, 'that he is the most important of the solar deities. The essential feature of his character is that he takes three strides, which doubtless represent the course of the sun through the three divisions of the universe.' Not one of these three deities is associated with the sun by the authors of the Vedic hymns, and it is arguing in a circle to bring them forward as evidence of nature-worship in the Rigveda. The critical reader of this book will however put aside these theorizings, due to an exaggerated respect for the teaching of a past generation in Oxford, and will confine himself to the statements which are supported by the quotations. In the latest hymns of the Rigveda, as well as in those of the Atharvaveda, he will find himself brought closely into contact with the world of folk-lore, with the worship of plants, beasts, and serpents, and with the practices of magic.

Perhaps the discussion most interesting to the future Indian civilian is that which deals with the practice of widow-burning. As is well known, Hindus have always justified this practice by the authority of the Vedas. European students have however maintained that the Vedas enjoin the contrary. Professor Macdonell writes as follows :—

'In conformity with a custom of remotest antiquity still surviving in India, the dead man was provided with ornaments and clothing for use in the future life. The fact that in the funeral obsequies of the Rigveda the widow lies down beside the body of her deceased husband and his bow is removed from the

dead man's hand, shows that both were in earlier times burnt with his body to accompany him to the next world, and a verse of the *Atharvaveda* calls the dying of the widow with her husband an old custom. The evidence of anthropology shows that this was a very primitive practice widely prevailing at the funerals of military chiefs, and it can be proved to go back to the Indo-European age.

The following stanza (8) from the last funeral hymn (x. 18) is addressed to the widow, who is called upon to rise from the pyre and take the hand of her new husband, doubtless a brother of the deceased, in accordance with an ancient marriage-custom:—

*Rise up: come to the world of life, o woman;
Thou liest here by one whose soul has left him.
Come: thou hast entered now upon the wifehood
Of this thy lord who takes thy hand and woos thee.*

The speaker then, turning to the deceased man, exclaims:—

*From the dead hand I take the bow he wielded,
To gain for us dominion, might, and glory.
Thou there, we here, rich in heroic offspring,
Will vanquish all assaults of every foe-man.*

*Approach the bosom of the earth, the mother,
This earth extending far and most propitious:
Young, soft as wool to bounteous givers, may she
Preserve thee from the lap of dissolution.*

*Open wide, o earth, press not heavily on him,
Be easy of approach, hail him with kindly aid:
As with a robe a mother hides
Her son, so shroud this man, o earth.*

Referring to the bystanders, he continues:—

*These living ones are from the dead divided:
Our calling on the gods is now auspicious.
We have come forth prepared for dance and laughter,
Till future days prolonging our existence.*

*As days in order follow one another,
As seasons duly alternate with seasons,
As the later never forsakes the earlier,
So fashion thou the lives of these, Ordainer.'*

In this short discussion the writer seems to me to shew a true appreciation of the character of the Vedic poems. They do in this instance record a practice which is very ancient, and may perhaps be called 'very primitive' until we have some further knowledge of its origin. But this practice is recorded only to be condemned. Wife and bow are laid by the side of the dead warrior as of old, but only to be solemnly removed from them. The spokesmen of a reformed religion shake off the tyranny of the 'dead hand.' Not to the deceased warrior, but to his living kinsmen belong wife and weapons. To think otherwise is devilry, and no pure worship of the gods. Such is the supreme law of the Universe, once for all determined by its Creator. It is true that this language may seem at first sight more appropriate to a Hebrew prophet denouncing the sacrifice of children to Moloch, than to a Vedic bard: but

that may be because our commentators so seldom remind us that the Hebrew prophets and the Vedic bards were (roughly speaking) contemporary, or that large parts of their wisdom were derived from the same source.

On p. 127 Professor Macdonell refers to the panegyrics or 'Praises of Gifts,' which incidentally furnish us with many historical data connected with the names and homes of the Vedic tribes. He is in error in ascribing late date to these hymns and fragments generally; on the contrary, all those which contain historical data belong to the very earliest epoch of Vedic poetry.

Chapter VI deals with the 'Rigvedic Age,' and depicts its general state of civilisation. The attempt to fix the geographical limits of the poems is only partially successful, since the names of places and rivers mentioned in the earlier hymns cannot be identified: but it is rightly stated that 'by the end at least of the Rigvedic period some of the Aryan invaders had reached the western limit of the Gangetic river-system.' The sketch of the social system combines features which belong to widely-separated centuries, and institutions of which some were proper to the conquerors, others to the conquered tribes: but here again a truly historical treatment is no easy matter. How widely commentators may differ in their deductions from the same facts is curiously illustrated in the few lines which deal with the state of morality in this period. From the fact that mention is made in the Rigveda of courtesans and of 'women who deceived their husbands' Pischel has drawn the conclusion that the poems were produced in a corrupt age and for the delectation of a decadent court: whilst Macdonell writes 'That the standard of morality was comparatively high may be inferred from the fact that adultery and rape were counted among the most serious offences, and illegitimate births were concealed.' Macdonell's view appears to me the more just.

Chapter VII deals chiefly with the *Atharvaveda*, which in the writer's view, shared by Professor Bloomfield with whose recent works this article deals later, is 'for the history of civilisation on the whole more interesting and important than the Rigveda itself.' At any rate its position is better understood. 'It does not represent the more advanced religious beliefs of the ruling priestly class, but is a collection of the most popular spells current amongst the masses, who always preserve more primitive notions with regard to demoniac powers. The spirit which breathes in it is that of a prehistoric

age. A few of its actual charms probably date with little modification from the Indo-European period.' In view of the claims made by Bloomfield for an early date for the Atharvaveda, it is well to note Macdonell's opinion that 'with regard to the higher religious ideas relating to the gods, it represents a more recent and advanced stage than the Rigveda,' and that 'the language of the *Atharva* is, from a grammatical point of view, decidedly later than that of the Rigveda.' It remains to be pointed out that in metrical form also the Atharva veda represents a later development of the standards of the Rigveda. Without here discussing the question whether the magical beliefs incorporated in this Veda are those of the Indian natives or of the lower classes of the Aryan invaders, it should be made plain that these beliefs are brought at least into external harmony with the religious system of the priestly classes: that is, they are new and comparatively orthodox spells designed to drive the unorthodox out of use. But the feeling that the whole system is out of harmony with the Vedic religion has always survived in India, and the book is even yet not fully included in the sacred canon.

The remaining chapters of this book are full of interest even to those who, like the present writer, have but a slight acquaintance with the materials with which they deal: I can only allow myself to quote one or two of Professor Macdonell's translations of short love-poems.

I.

*Beside the lamp, the flaming hearth,
In light of sun or moon or stars,
Without my dear one's lustrous eyes
This world is wholly dark to me.*

II.

*Let not thy thoughts, o Wanderer,
Roam in that forest, woman's form:
For there a robber ever lurks
Ready to strike—the God of Love.*

III.

*This maiden like a huntsman is;
Her brow is like the bow he bends;
Her sidelong glances are his darts;
My heart's the antelope she slays.*

Professor Macdonell's book may be most warmly recommended to all those who are not content to be ignorant of one of the most important of classical literatures, and it is to be hoped that it will give a marked

impulse to Sanskrit studies at his own University and elsewhere.

Professor Bloomfield's *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* forms one of the handsomest volumes in the series of the *Sacred Books of the East*, and it will at once take rank as one of the most important. Yet no volume brings into clearer light the defects of the original design of this series, which has not the courage either to be frankly popular or genuinely scientific, and which has expended on wide margins and exaggerated type the zeal and resources which might have made a new epoch in Oriental studies. This volume contains a translation of about one half of the distinctive matter of the Atharvaveda, with a short introduction and a fairly adequate commentary. This is much for which we have to thank the Clarendon Press and the writer, and far more than the general reader has any use for: yet it is impossible not to regret that the opportunity for a complete edition has been lost. Professor Bloomfield, we may well imagine, would readily have given us this, after the many years he has devoted to his favourite subject: and the publishers have not been grudging in allotting almost 800 pages to this volume. Ludwig's *Rigveda* contains about 2,300 pages, excellently printed, and with introductions and commentary on a far more ample scale, admitting liberal quotations from later Sanskrit writers: and as the Rigveda is not quite three times as long as the Atharvaveda, it is clear that a standard translation and commentary for the whole of the latter might have been given in the same compass as the volume before us. As it is, we have now almost a dozen incomplete translations, and have still to wait for a complete translation, which is however promised us as a posthumous work of the late Professor Whitney.

The introduction to this volume contains important essays dealing with the history and standing of the Atharvan texts which, as is generally known, are not fully recognised by the Hindus as canonical. The title found in the book itself is Atharvāṅgirasah, or works of the Atharvan and Aṅgiras priests. The former Professor Bloomfield identifies with auspicious spells or 'white magic,' the latter with the darker practices of sorcery. But as that which is useful to oneself is very often

harmful to others, the distinction is not well maintained: the Atharvan priests would have found their profession straitened if they had not undertaken to curse, as well as to appease and bless: whilst the common people felt an aversion to the whole body of practices, of which they stood in a vague dread.

The Atharvan hymns are rearranged for the purposes of this translation in the following groups: (1) against diseases, (2) for long life and health, (3) against demons and enemies, (4) love-charms, (5) charms for kings, (6) charms to secure influence in the assembly, (7) business charms, (8) charms in expiation of sin and defilement, (9) charms in the interest of the Brahmins, (10) cosmogonic and theosophic hymns. It will thus be seen that their subject-matter includes the whole sphere of public and private life, and indeed gives us a complete picture of the folk-lore of the Vedic people, so far as it was at the time authorized and systematized by the Brahman priest. The material of the charms includes the use of plants, trees, minerals and waters, as well as sympathetic magic and elementary medical appliances, mostly of a loathsome character. Yet it is clear that all these are subordinate in importance to the use of the 'word,' or metrical recitation, so that it is the hymns themselves, as recited by the professional charm-worker, which really possess the magic power. These are on the whole of a simple character, and their chief difficulty consists in identifying the names of natural objects and other *termini technici* which occur in them. As an illustration of a state of feeling common to the Aryan peoples at all times, and illustrated not least well by the history of Rome, I may quote the following prayer for 'harmony' in the public assembly or vestry-meeting. The 'harmony' is of course to be obtained by all the other members giving way to the views of the speaker.

ATHARVAVEDA, vii. 12.

1. May assembly and meeting, the two daughters of Prajāpati, concurrently aid me! May he with whom I shall meet cooperate with me: may I, O ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled!

2. We know thy name, O assembly: 'mirth,' verily, is thy name: may all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me!

3. Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the understanding: in this entire gathering render, O Indra, me successful!

4. If your mind has wandered to a distance, or

has been enchained here or there, then do we turn it hither: may your mind take delight in me!

The commentary contains full references to previous European and Indian studies of the hymns, and gives parallels to the charms amongst European nations. There is a good index, but nothing to correspond with the Vocabulary given by Professor Oldenberg in his *Hymns of the Rigveda*, which is so useful a supplement to the existing dictionaries.

The Atharvaveda by the same author is practically a companion volume, though it appears in another series. It is one of the English volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, now appearing in 37 parts under the editorship of Professor Kielhorn. This international effort is a pleasing advance upon the present want of system, by which monographs on technical subjects have to be hunted up from journals published in a dozen different countries. French Orientalists are however sadly conspicuous by their absence from this series, an absence which is certainly not due to any unwillingness on the part of the editor to include contributions in the French language. The whole series is well printed and on good paper: the occasional use of a comparatively small type gives room for a wealth of bibliographical reference which is impossible in the *Sacred Books of the East*. It is however necessary to pass over much that is excellent in this volume in order to call attention to a heresy upon which much stress is laid, and which seems to result from a confusion of thought which should be cleared up without delay: namely, the contention that the Atharvaveda is in a way contemporary with the Rigveda. I say 'in a way,' because the immense body of evidence which supports the traditional view of later date is not ignored by the author, who admits 'that the existing collections of the Atharvan are the final product of a redactorial activity much later than that of the Rigveda, and that many hymns and prose pieces in the AV. date from a very late period of Vedic productivity.' Yet he objects vigorously that 'for reasons that are nearly always one-sided and subjective, sometimes patently erroneous, the language of the popular or Atharvanic hymns is generally regarded as chronologically later than that of the hieratic hymns, and thus every Vedic hymn

that deals with popular matters is condemned on account of its language to a berth in the "later Vedic period." Now the author may be assured that the value of the Atharvan hymns will not in the long run be determined by their antiquity, and that they will not be 'condemned' merely because they are of later date than the hymns of the Rigveda. The fact that the former are, apparently without exception, written in a dialect which stands nearer to that of classical Sanskrit than to that of the Rigveda is undisputed: the evidence is given on almost every page of Whitney's Grammar. Indeed Professor Bloomfield has stated this in stronger terms than any of his predecessors, when he speaks of the two books as written in two different languages, the 'hieratic' and the 'popular,' which he compares to the language used by a clergyman in the pulpit and at the dinner-table respectively. We are of course familiar in many countries with the distinction between a sacred and a profane dialect, but in every case the sacred dialect is in itself the older, and works written in it offer a presumption of greater antiquity. In this case however Professor Bloomfield thinks that the two dialects have grown concurrently from a common origin. His reasons are (1) that many of the forms considered 'old' are found in the Atharvaveda, e.g. *kṛidhi* in Av. iii. 18, (2) that many of the forms considered 'late' are, on the contrary, of Indo-European antiquity.

These objections seem to me due to an imperfect conception of the continuity of language. The date of a particular writing can certainly not be determined by an analysis of the form of any one or two words it contains, but only by a general comparison of its contents. No one would hesitate to fix, on linguistic grounds, the relative dates of a canto of the 'Faery Queene' and a poem of Walt Whitman: yet in old English works we occasionally find words and forms which are, at first sight, surprisingly modern, and which are, in fact, the predecessors of favourite modern turns of thought: and it is well known that many 'Americanisms' are derived from very old English dialectal uses. Bearing this in mind, there is no difficulty in dealing with Bloomfield's instances, which treat of points familiar to students of comparative philology. Thus the form *kṛidhi* is in the Vedas found at an earlier time than *kuru*, yet it is recorded by Whitney as a form which remains in use till classical times.

The dual in *-au* is not used in the Rigveda proper before consonants: but it is regularly used before vowels, and therefore it is not surprising to find it also in other languages. So *-aiḥ* is reckoned as a 'late' form of the instrumental plural in the Rigveda: but by this is only meant that those hymns in which the two forms *-ebhiḥ* and *-aiḥ* are used side by side are older than those in which the latter form is used exclusively. The root *lubh* is Indo-European, and again is found in classical Sanskrit: but we cannot on that account leave out of sight the fact that in one stage of the Sanskrit language the letter *l* is practically disused, and that that stage is the earliest appears from the fact that it has left its mark upon the history of the language as a whole, so that in many words Indo-European *l* is represented permanently by Sanskrit *r*. Of course comparative philologists are well aware that it is by no means unusual for the later stages of two languages to agree in features which are absent in the earlier stages of one or both. Thus classical Greek and classical Sanskrit agree in using the augment invariably in historic tenses; yet in the Homeric and Vedic poems alike the use of the augment is optional. The development of language is not always continuous, and to that extent it must be admitted that linguistic data are a 'broken reed,' when taken alone. Not however in the instance chosen by Prof. Bloomfield, where on his own shewing the evidence is decidedly in favour of the later date of the Atharvan.

More ingenious is Professor Bloomfield's discussion of the problem of metre. Confining himself to the Anushtubh stanza of four octosyllabic lines, he gives its scheme in three forms, which may be more fully stated as follows:

(I) *Anushtubh of the later Avesta.*

Pādas *a, b, c, d* are each of the type

≡ ≡ ≡ | ≡ ≡ ≡

that is, the quantity is throughout indifferent.

(II) '*Hieratic*' *Anushtubh.*

Pādas *a, b, c, d* are each of the type

≡ - ≡ - | - - - ≡

that is, each forms an iambic dimeter.

(III) 'Popular' *Anuṣṭubh*.

Pādas *a, c* are of the type

— — — | — — —

„ *b, d* are of the type

— — — | — — —

that is, the first and third pādas end with a trochee, breaking the general iambic rhythm.

Now, argues Prof. Bloomfield, it is improbable that (II) passed to (III) through the stage (I), which we find only in a cognate language: this would include a change from a stricter to a laxer rhythm, which is contrary to the general trend of Hindu metrical development. Instead we may assume that (II) and (III) were independently developed from (I), the 'hieratic' poets giving the verse a 'more exquisite' treatment by introducing the iambic rhythm at the end of each hemistich.

This theory rests upon a too superficial study of the facts. In the first place the Avestan octosyllabic line has nothing to do with the matter. Whether the non-quantitative line represents the earliest stage of Indo-European verse, or (as I think far more probable) a degeneration of metre peculiar to the Iranian branch, it is not closely connected with either of the Sanskrit forms, which agree in a general iambic rhythm, which is in all cases well marked in the first half of the pāda. In the last half the earliest Vedic verse uses with fair frequency the cadence — — — — —: the stricter iambic cadence — — — — — becomes compulsory later, in accordance with the general tendency to greater strictness. Thus the two Vedic forms differ ultimately in the quantity of a single syllable only (the seventh) in two of the alternate pādas: and we have a transition period in which the use of the later form gradually becomes more prevalent. The option of quantity in the fifth syllable is a fiction of Professor Bloomfield's, except so far as all Vedic metres admit of occasional irregularities. A wider study of Vedic metres would have shewn that the artifice here resorted to, namely a sharp change in rhythm to avoid monotony, is by no means without parallel in Sanskrit. The general rhythm of the Trisṭubh metre is iambic: but the Vedic poets generally (as has been mentioned above) have varied this by making the sixth syllable short; whilst the later writers have increased the divergence from the original type by favouring a long fifth syllable. In the Greco-Latin

metres the same principle is illustrated by the familiar *scæzon* of Martial.

Now if all questions of language and metre were put aside, the later date of the Atharvaveda would still appear clearly from its theological conceptions, as to which it is sufficient to refer to Professor Macdonell's book and Professor Bloomfield's own admissions. I have dwelt upon these points because it is not uncommon to find the *obiter dicta* of Sanskrit philologists picked up by writers on comparative philology, and made the basis of general theories of wide import: and it is therefore desirable that views which appear to be unsound should be at once criticised. The element of truth in Professor Bloomfield's contention can be stated very simply. The magical practices described in the Atharvaveda are probably of indefinite antiquity, but whether they are in the main European or Asiatic remains undetermined. They were very likely accompanied by spoken spells: but whether these were in prose or in verse, in Sanskrit or in other languages, we cannot determine. The earliest spells we possess are contained in the later parts of the Rigveda. The difference in dialect between the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda is not necessarily to be explained as entirely due to difference in time: it may be partly due to the influence of foreign teachers and of professional schools. But in its main features Vedic Sanskrit is an older form of classical Sanskrit, and the dialects of the Atharvan and the Brāhmaṇas stand between. We have no indication that Vedic Sanskrit was used for composition by poets to whom it was an artificially acquired language. When its distinctive sacred character was recognised, its verses were borrowed in their completeness and used for magic purposes without any regard to their original meaning: and so it happens that the last book of the Atharvaveda consists almost exclusively of verses borrowed without alteration from the Rigveda.

The title of Professor Hillebrandt's book gives an inadequate idea of the interest of its contents: for the so-called 'ritual literature' covers every act of life from birth to death, and thus includes minute description of the whole folk-lore of the Hindu people: differing in spirit from the Atharvaveda in that the desire to wrest personal advantage from the ceremonies is absent. The author treats his subject more

systematically from the standpoint of comparative antiquities than either of the preceding writers. He first deals with the view, which he thinks still to be held by the majority of Orientalists, that the minute ceremonies were invented by an idle priesthood in order to strengthen their hold upon the people. He holds on the contrary that the religious customs as well as the laws of the Hindus are based upon immemorial antiquity, of which the priesthood were diligent and conscientious students. He therefore first deals with those customs which appear to be part of Indo-European institutions, and in particular with the marriage customs. Thus, when the Indian ritual prescribes to the bride the duty of weeping as she leaves her father's home, and a special verse has to be recited as an accompaniment to her tears, Hillebrandt compares similar customs amongst Russians and Czechs, and explains them by the violent character of the primitive marriage. In the German Palatinate it appears that the bride must begin to weep from the day of her betrothal, and indeed 'so awfully violently, that she can hardly eat a morsel.' A similar observance connects India with the district of Aargau. In the latter, when the bridegroom drives off, the young people of the neighbourhood block the road with cords and pieces of iron, tied together by coloured cloth, and the bridegroom must cut his way through these impediments with the wedding sword. In India the bridegroom, during the recitation of a particular verse,

lays a red thread in the track of one wheel, and a blue thread in the track of another. Whilst reciting the next verse he drives over them. The custom of throwing rice after newly-married couples is also mentioned as common to many countries, amongst which our own (curiously enough) is not included. The ceremonies connected with the twelve days which separate the old year from the new are treated in the same comparative spirit.

It is perhaps needless to say that on subjects of this kind the author's views will not meet with assent in all quarters. In dealing with matters more specifically Indian he is necessarily on surer ground. In describing the ritual of the Rigveda he has the courage to draw his materials solely from the text of the hymns, and to deduce the conclusion that the ceremonies of that time, though they had reached a considerable degree of elaboration, were still far simpler than in later periods. As a whole, this book may be described as not only an indispensable guide to the student of this department of Sanskrit literature, but also as an invaluable collection of facts interesting to the student of any side of primitive antiquity or folk-lore.

The fact that four volumes of such importance as those here reviewed have been issued in rapid succession is an indication that the study of ancient Sanskrit is by no means losing its attractiveness.

EDWARD V. ARNOLD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LATRANS IN PHAEDRUS.

In the review of Postgate's *Corpus*, Fasc. iii, which appeared in the *Classical Review* for December 1900, Prof. Housman has been led, by his cross-nibbed pen perhaps, to do me a little injustice. Commenting on my edition of Phaedrus, at V. 10. 7 (*canem obiurgabat, cui senex contra latrans*), he says 'One generally accepted emendation, Bentley's *Lacon* (loc. cit.) Dr. Gow refuses, and prints the false quantity *latrans* with nothing to mark it as corrupt: I know that Auienus says *lātrantis*, but Auienus says quasi.' This remark appears to impute to

me ignorance of the usual quantity of *latrans*. As a matter of fact, my note on the passage runs '*latrans* PR, *Lacon* Bentl. in *ā* breuiato offendens, *latrans* cui c.s. Cunningham, *latrans* substantiue accipiens.'

It is not easy to see what Prof. Housman wants. Did he desire me to mark by obelus, or note, that a possibly genuine word was corrupt? On the merits surely *latrans* has rather the best of it. Prof. Housman will not deny that *latrans* is sound Latin for 'a dog' (Ovid. *Met.* viii. 412 *inmeriti fatum latrantis*) and that Phaedrus elsewhere uses

a descriptive epithet as a noun (I. 1. 6 *laniger* 'the lamb', I. 11. 6 *auritulus* 'the ass', IV. 4. 3 *sonipes* 'the horse', IV. 9. 10 *barbatus* 'the goat'). Again, it is unlikely that Phaedrus, after using *canis* twice, should substitute the specific name *Lacon*: indeed neither *Lacon* nor *Molossus* occurs in Phaedrus at all. In I. 1 the sequence is *agnus—agnus—laniger*: in I. 11 *asellus—auritulus—asinus*: in IV. 4 *equus—sonipes*: in IV. 9 *hircus—barbatus—hircus*. The evidence of style is thus strongly in favour of *latrans*. Cunningham's emendation is improbable because *latrans*, placed at the beginning of the sentence, would naturally mean 'barking' and not 'barker.' The existing MS. P does not give the least hint of suspicion: *latrans* is fully and clearly written, and Prof. Housman's conjecture that *Lacon* was corrupted by the following *non* is quite arbitrary, for, though Phaedrus is written as prose in P, there is no evidence

that he was so written in P's archetype. Against style and tradition, therefore, stands only a rule of prosody which is not so clear. Avienus, who must have known Vergil's (*Aen.* VIII. 698) *omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis*, nevertheless wrote *cura latrantis Anubis*. The *a* may have been really short, usage in the poets notwithstanding, or it may have tended to become short in the *sermo quotidianus* or when *latrans* was used as a noun. I believe that the *i* of *migro* is short only in Ter. *Hec.* 589 and Manil. III. 79: similarly the *a* of *flagrum* is short only in one or two passages of Plautus. Lastly, Phaedrus was a foreigner and may have made a mistake, as foreigners will. There happen to be so many chances of evading the rule of prosody that I think I was not bound to treat it as paramount and to obelize *latrans* as corrupt.

J. GOW.

PROF HOUSMAN, BENTLEY, LUCAN.

'FINDING faults,' says Prof Housman, if they are real and not imaginary, is the most useful sort of criticism.' So I have thought as long as I can remember, and I am truly glad to learn that I have been right.

In settling the text of an ancient author there are two main lines of fault-finding: there are the faults of the MSS tradition, and the faults of the author himself. When MSS evidence is conflicting, and when it tells, as it sometimes does, on the side of that reading which is in itself clearly inferior, it is of the first importance to take full and fair account of the character and circumstances of the author so far as they are known to us. It may well be that what commends itself to the judgment of a modern scholar as the better reading is not (even though that scholar be infallible) what the author wrote. The cases of the several authors vary, and a slip that would be improbable in Statius' *Thebaid* *bis senos multum vigilata per annos* may more safely be allowed to stand in an unfinished poem by a young and fluent writer.

To take the case of Lucan. Prof Housman finds fault with me for 'refusing corrections by Bentley and others.' Now I admire the cleverness and learning shewn

in Bentley's 'corrections' as much as any one. But when I ask myself in each case 'is this a correction, or an improvement, or both, or neither?' I find myself generally constrained to answer 'an improvement, at least from Bentley's point of view.' And it seems to me that the mature and ratiocinative Bentley was out of touch with the crude and uneven rhetoric of Lucan, and that his actual results are in this case of little value. As for 'correcting,' he could not help it: but his attempts to correct Milton betrayed the false direction of much of his work.

But it may be said that some corrections are so obvious, the improvement in the sense so manifest, that we must perforce accept them. Thus in I 481 *inter Rhenum populos Albimque iacentes* does indeed seem preferable to *Alpem*, let alone *Alpes*. But two objections soon occur (a) with *Albim* the reference is clearly to Germans, and it is not certain (see 308-9) that Lucan is thinking of Germans rather than Gauls, (b) the words 'inter Rhenum Alpemque' seem strained when judged by a modern map, but Lucan had not a modern map. And when I read the queer geographical notions of Polybius (III 47), when I recall the endless controversies to which the Roman landings in

Britain have given rise, I am loth to 'correct' the MSS for the sake of bringing the text into harmony with modern knowledge. If the maps of Lucan's time were at all like the *tabula Peutingeriana*, then the Rhine made an acute angle with the Alps, and there is no reason to suspect the text.

So much for a correction which so far as I know is not Bentley's. The conjecture *Belgis* for *bellis* in I 463 is due to him. But it should be added that he proposed to rewrite lines 460-72 in an astounding manner, in fact as a master correcting a pupil's exercise. If the MSS are worth no more than this, then it is a case of 'every man his own Lucan.' No doubt the just and unaggressive character attributed to the Chauci by Tacitus (Germ. 35, not 33) makes it seem strange that Caesar should have kept military posts 'to restrain them either from war or by means of war.' But if we read *Belgis* and paraphrase 'to restrain them from attacking the north-east of Gaul,' the position is still stranger: if this is not to call the Chauci wilfully aggressive, what is? It is hard for me, who am 'too little concerned with the sense of what Lucan is supposed to be saying,' to offer an opinion: but may not *bellis* mean 'by wars,' that is, by campaigns carried on, when necessary, beyond the Rhine? Did not Caesar twice cross the Rhine to impress the Germans? Are not the Chauci a rather ill-chosen *pars pro toto*?

Among the changes proposed by Bentley in this part of Lucan is in lines 464-5 *Rhenique ferocis deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus annem*. The MSS tradition is *feroces* and *orbem*. Bentley asks 'quid vero illud *orbem*? an totus orbis undique apertus, quia ripa Rheni deserebatur?' He takes *orbis* to mean the whole world. So in III 276 'nunc huc nunc illuc, qua flectitur, ampliatur *orbem*' Prof Housman renders 'the globe,' and regards the result with not unjustified dismay. But need we accept this? Even *totus orbis* is used with exaggeration where only the Roman world (VIII 211-2 *orbis qua Romanus erat*) is meant. Thus I 110 *quae mare quae terras quae totum possidet orbem*, while in 166-7 *totoque accersitur orbe*, quo gens quaeque perit the non-Roman East is more particularly referred to. Of the uses of *orbis* with adjectives, such as *extremus medius arctous eous Latius Thessalicus* and many more, there is no need to speak. But V 686 *et tantus caput hoc sibi fecerit orbis*, '[the people of] so large a part of the (Roman)

world' is worth noting. And in VIII 603-4 *ne quo non fiat in orbe heu facinus civile tibi* we see the transition to the use of *orbis* by itself as 'a part of the world.' In I 369 *ut victum post terga relinqueret orbem* it is the whole world, meaning in truth but a part. In IX 416-7 *maior in unam orbis abit Asiam* it is 'a greater part of the world.' In IX 436-7 *natura deside torpet orbis* 'the world' is no more than 'the surface of the country.' In IX 466 *orbemque a sede moveret*, 481 *sic orbem torquente noto*, the idea seems very confused, as happens in Lucan at times. In X 476 *gelido circumflus orbis Hiberno* it is 'the country,' as IV 407 *Adriaco tellus circumflua ponto*.

To return to I 465 *apertum gentibus orbem*, I hold that it means 'the [Roman] world laid open to [barbarous] nations,' that is, nations not owing allegiance to Rome, *gentibus externis*. See Haskins' notes on I 31, 82. In III 276 *nunc huc nunc illuc, qua flectitur, ampliatur orbem* I render 'according to its various bends enlarges a continent to East or West.' That is, this or that continent. In this passage *orbis* is comparatively easy to understand, being helped by *diversi mundi* which precedes. Whether the reading *hunc...illum* is on other grounds preferable or not, is a different matter. That the sense compels us to adopt it I feel unable to concede. A good deal here and elsewhere depends on the value to be assigned to the codex Vossianus primus (V). If Prof Housman would finally settle this question, readers of Lucan would owe him many thanks. We might perhaps be able to read (for instance) *recepimus* in VIII 831.

It is unnecessary to discuss points where I agree with the Professor, such as the questionable use of the name 'Pauline' to describe a certain class of MSS. Nor need I deal with such matters as the readings of I 588 and 687, on which I have already said what I had to say in previous numbers of the *Classical Review*. It will be enough for my purpose if I have succeeded in shewing that Prof Housman does not always manage to state the case fairly against a reading when he is in a hurry to dismiss it with contempt. Who it is that neglects 'the sense of what Lucan is supposed to be saying' is a question upon which opinions may differ—or rather might have differed; for I have now learnt that in readings—never mind reasons—there is one final Court of Appeal.

The passage I 531 calls for special notice. I have accepted the reading 'et varias ignis *tenso* dedit aere formas.' Prof Housman would read *denso* with VG. He refers to the regular quotation of editors, Seneca N Q VII 21 § 1, where it is said that the Stoic view is that comets and certain other fiery phenomena *denso aere creari*. But Lucan has already done with the comet and the *faces*, and it is not clear to me that what he is now describing is included in the things mentioned by Seneca. And to say that Lucan is 'copying his uncle' is only true if 'copying' does not mean 'following.' For in his next chapter Seneca adds 'ego nostris non adsentior,' and gives his reasons.

At this stage let me insert a passage from a letter written to me by Prof J. S. Reid before I even knew that I had the honour of being noticed by Prof Housman. He says "It may interest you to know that I have for a long time thought *tenso* right, because it chimes in so well with Stoic terminology. The term *τόνος* (commonly rendered by *intentio*) encounters one at many points in the Stoic system. Things approximate to the pure *πνεῦμα* in proportion to the degree of *τόνος* which they possess. The expression occurs most commonly in connexion with mental phenomena, but, as the mind is regarded as purely material, that does not matter. The cold air, acquiring more *τόνος*, naturally passes into fire, and with the reading *tenso* the line of Lucan is genuinely Stoic. That air may be said to be 'put on the stretch' is shewn by the following passages.

Epictet II 23 § 4 τὸν μεταξύ ἀέρα οὕτως ἐνεργὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐντονον ὥστε δι' αὐτοῦ τεινόμενον πῶς δικνεῖσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν ;

Gellius V 16 § 2 Stoici causas esse videndi dicunt radiorum ex oculis in ea quae videri queunt emissionem aerisque simul intentionem.

Seneca N Q II 6 § 3 intentionem aeris ostendent tibi inflata nec ad ictum cedentia ...quid enim est vox nisi intentio aeris, ut audiatur, linguae formata percussu ? [there is more in this chapter and in cc 9, 57].

It is true that elsewhere Seneca talks of

the emission of light accompanying the compression or thickening of the air. Whether the Stoics did so or not is far from certain. In his Nat Quaestt Seneca inserts matter from all quarters, even from Lucretius."

When therefore Prof Housman says 'Air is notoriously incapable of tension,' I may accept his authority in a department where he has done nothing to create mistrust of his judgments. But the question is not one of modern Physics: it is the point of view of Lucan and his Stoic teachers with which we are concerned. As for Dr Hosius, who restored *tenso* from what he believed to be the better MSS authority, his defence will be found in the Neue Jahrbücher for 1893 page 340.

I should not have made any reply to the remarks of Prof Housman were it not that the credit of the new Corpus is concerned. In such a work it is hardly possible to be too cautious in avoiding needless emendation: and this is particularly the case in dealing with an author the MSS of whom 'may almost be called good.' A conservative spirit must predominate, if the work is to be of any use. Again, in a cooperative work there will be delays. The completion of each instalment depends on the slowest contributor. The single-handed worker has in point of speed a great advantage over the driver of a team.

But if I were simply editing a text on my own account I should still be under a conviction of the difficulty of attaining results that could fairly be called certain. One moves in a region of probabilities varying from more or less ingenious guesswork to moral certainty: and the latter is rare. If this conviction has made me culpably timid, I can at least assure Prof Housman that I try to imitate Prof Francken in 'disinterestedness' and 'unwillingness to be duped.' But I am far from having reached those *edita doctrina sapientum templa serena* around which the *intentio aeris*, or rather *aetheris*, is in all probability extreme.

W E HEITLAND.

In Memoriam.

VICTORIA REGINA IMPERATRIX.

MDCCCXXXVII—MDCCCL.

Σήμερον αἰάζοντες ἀποφθιμένην Φερηνίκην,
κλαυτὸν καὶ Θανάτῳ κῆδος ὁδύρομεθα·
νικᾷ δ' εἰς ὅδε πάντας ἐπιρρέυσαντας ἐπαίνους,
φίλτερος ὡς ἀστοῖς οὐ γένετ' οὐδ' ἔσεται.

J. P. P.

BRITANNIA VICTORIAE
MATRI DESIDERATISSIMAE.

MATER, ob augustum nomen venerata tot annos,
Saecula dum current, cara futura magis,
Quae totiens oculos populi Regina beabas
Luce tui vultus et bonitate tua,
A! nunquam reditura, mei tamen incola cordis,
Orbatae praesens saepe putanda, VALE!

H. M. B.

Ἦδε, φίλοις λαοῖσι φίλον σέβας, ἔσχε δικαίως
Νίκης κυδαλίμην εἴ τις ἐπωνυμίην,
εὐβούλοις πρέψασα μετ' ἀνδράσιν, ἐν δὲ γυναιξίν
οἷα γυνή· δισσῆς δ' αἶνον ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς,
πένθος ἐψοισίν τε καὶ ἐσπερίοισι λιπούσα,
λείπει ξυγὸν ἄγαλμ' ὃν κλέος ἐσσομένοισι.

W. H.

A LOST WORDSWORTH FRAGMENT.

It may interest your readers to see a fragment of verse on a classical subject, written by Wordsworth in the first decade of this century, which has quite lately come to my knowledge. As all his readers know, he translated a small part of Virgil, and I hope soon to publish some of his more elaborate attempts to give an English version of parts of Juvenal; but this small fragment, which is the second of more attempts than one on his part to deal with the subject of Harmodius and Aristogiton, may be printed now.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

*The University,
St. Andrews.*

And I will bear my vengeful blade
With the myrtle's boughs arrayed
As Harmodius before
As Aristogiton bore,

When the tyrant's heart they gor'd
With the myrtle-braided sword,
Gave to triumph Freedom's cause
Gave to Athens equal laws.

Where, unnumbered with the dead,
Dear Harmodius, art thou fled?
Athens sings 'tis thine to rest
In the islands of the blest,
Where Achilles swift of feet
And the brave Tydides meet.

I will bear my vengeful blade
With the myrtle boughs arrayed,
As Harmodius before
As Aristogiton bore
When in Athens' festal time
The tyrant felt their arm sublime.

Let thy name, Harmodius dear,
Live through heaven's eternal year.
Long as Heaven and Earth survive
Dear Aristogiton live,
With the myrtle-braided sword
Ye the tyrant's bosom gor'd,
Gave to triumph Freedom's cause
Gave to Athens equal laws.

W. WORDSWORTH.

OPENING SCENE OF SHELLEY'S 'HELLAS.'

MAHMUD *sleeping: an Indian Slave sitting
beside his couch.*

Chorus of Captive Greek Women.

We strew these opiate flowers
On thy restless pillow:
They were stripped from 'Orient bowers,
By the Indian billow.
Be thy sleep
Calm and deep,
Like theirs who fell—not ours who weep.

Indian.

Away, unlovely dreams!
Away, false shapes of sleep!
Be his, as heaven seems,
Clear and bright and deep;
Soft as love and calm as death,
Sweet as a summer night without a breath.

XOP.

Θρόνα τάδ' ἀμφί σοι Στρ. α.
βάλλομεν ὑπνοφόρα κοιτὰς, 'Ινδικὸν
τά ποτέ μοι δρέφθη παρὰ κλυδῶν' ἁλὸς,
κήπων θρέμμαθ' ἐψών.
'Αδὺς ἐπὶ βλέφαρα βαθύς θ' ὕπνος, ἄναξ, ἔστω
σοι
μή τι κατ' ὄμμι' ἀμὸν τῶν πολυδακρύνων, τοῖς δ'
ἐκεῖ
πεσοῦσιν ὁμοῖος.

INΔH.

τοὺς ψευδεῖς ἀπεννέπω φόβους, Στρ. β.
μορφῶν τε βίπας ὀνειροφάντων.
'Υπνον δ' ἔχουσ
ὁμοῖον οὐρανῷ θεῶν,
ἀνέφελον ἀθόρυβον βαθύν,
τοῦ μαλακοῦ τ' ἔρωτος
καὶ θανάτου μᾶλλον φίλον,
φέρειν τὰς μεθ' ἐσπέραν
εἰρήνας ἀνήνεμον χάριν.

Chorus.

Sleep, sleep! Our song is laden
 With the soul of slumber;
 It was sung by a Samian maiden
 Whose lover was of the number
 Who now keep
 That calm sleep
 Whence none may wake, where none shall
 weep.

Indian.

I touch thy temples pale,
 I breathe my soul on thee;
 And, could my prayers prevail,
 All my joy should be
 Dead, and I would live to weep,
 So thou mightst win one hour of quiet
 sleep.

Chorus.

Breathe low, low,
 The spell of the mighty Mistress now!
 When Conscience lulls her sated snake,
 And tyrants sleep, let Freedom wake.

Breathe low, low,

The words which, like secret fire, shall flow
 Through the veins of the frozen earth—low,
 low!

Semichorus I.

Life may change, but it may fly not;
 Hope may vanish, but can die not;
 Truth be veiled, but still it burneth;
 Love repulsed, but it returneth.

Semichorus II.

Yet were Life a charnel, where
 Hope lay confined with Despair;
 Yet were truth a sacred lie;

XOP.

Ὕπνωσας, ὥς ἐμοὶ
 φίλτρον ἔχει θεόθεν ᾧδαν τάνδ' ὕπνου,
 Σαμιακᾶς εὐρημά ποτε παιδός, ἃς
 πολλῶν κείτο μετ' ἄλλων
 ἄσπετον εὐρόμενος ἀνὴρ χύσιν ὕπνου, τᾷς οὐδεὶς
 αὐθις ἀνηγέρθη πουλυπόνων βροτῶν· οὐδέ τις
 λαχὼν ἐδάκρυσεν.

Αντ. α.

INDH.

Θελεκτρὸν μὲν χερὸς πᾶσάν τέ σοι
 ψυχάν ἐπέπνευσ' ἐμὴν προταρβοῦσ'·
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν
 θεοὶ κλύοντες εὖ λιτὰς
 ἀχάριτον ἀβίστον μόρον
 δοῖεν ἔχειν θελούσῃ,
 καὶ δακρύων οἶον' αἶει,
 σύ γ' εἰ μίαν περ εὐφρόνην
 εὐκαλον λάχοις ὕπνου χάριν.

Αντ. β.

HMIX α.

ὦ φίλαι, ἦκα νῦν, ἦκα μάλ', ἀλλ' ὅμως Στρ. γ.
 τᾷς μεγάλας θροεῖτ' ἰὰν Μαρέρως·
 εἴτε γὰρ ὥς ὄφεις κορεσθεὶς βορᾶς
 τυράννων εὐδῇ σὺναυλον βία
 δαίμα, τότ' οὖν βοτᾶς ἐλπίς ἐγειρέσθω
 δμῶσιν ἐλευθέρως.

HMIX β.

ἦκα μάλ', ὥς ἀνώγεις, ἄτρεμας λόγων Αντ. γ.
 τῶν μέγ' ἐρισθενῶν θροήσω βοᾶν.
 νᾶμα κεκρυμμένον γὰρ εἰσιν θεᾶς
 πυρῶδες χωροῦν ἔσω Γῆ φλεβῶν
 Μαρτρί, τὸ πρὶν δ' ἄφαρ ῥίγος ἀποστάξει.
 ἦκα δ' ὅμως ἴτω.

HMIX α.

Ἀλλαγὰς μὲν ἔχει βίος Στρ. δ.
 πᾶμπαν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀποφθίνει·
 θνάσκει τ' οὐποτ' ἄρα μερόπων
 ἐλπίς, καίπερ ἀπ' ὅσων
 πόλλ' ἔρρουσα· μένει τ' Ἀληθεία φέγγει
 λαμπρὰ
 κὰν καλύπτραις φαινομένα·
 πολλὰ τ' Ἔρως ἐρώτων
 ἀμπλακὼν παλινόρτος ἦλθεν ἔμπας.

HMIX β.

Ἦν δ' ἂν οὖν βίος οὐ βίος Αντ. δ
 ζῶσιν, ἃ δ' ἂν ὑπὸ σκύτῳ
 πολλοῖς ψεύδειν ὁμόταφος
 θνητῶν ἐλπίς ἐπαύσθη·
 καὶ δ' ἔρρεψε θεῶν ἀληθεία ψεύδους ἀκούειν,

Love were lust—

καὶ δ' Ἐρως ἐς μαργουσίναν
 πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν, εἰ μὴ
 βλέμῳ Ἑλευθερίας ἐτ' ὀρθὸν εἶχον.

Semichorus I.

XOP.

If Liberty

Lent not life its soul of light,
 Hope its iris of delight,
 Truth its prophet's robe to wear,
 Love its power to give and bear.

Ἐκ τᾶς γὰρ ζάθεον μὲν
 ἔρπει φέγγος ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν
 ὁδοῖς ἱρισι δ' εἴκελοι
 λάμπουσ' ἐλπιδες ἐκ τᾶς.
 Ἀλήθειά τε μάντις
 ἐργοῖς ἐμπρέπει ἀνδρῶν
 Ἐρως τ' αὐτὸς, ὃ πολλὰ τλᾶς,
 πολλῶν ἤνυεν ὄνασιν.

Στρ. ε.

Αντ. ε.

SHELLEY'S *Hellas*, Scene 1.

GILBERT MURRAY.

METRICAL NOTE.—The Chorus (Sts. A and C) use dochmiacs; the Indian, softer and more sympathetic, syncopated iambs. When the Chorus begins its Ode to Freedom it passes into glyconics.

A.—*Dochmiacs.*B.—*Syncopated Iambics.*

1. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
2. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
3. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
4. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | [Pherecratean, to prepare the transition to Glyconics later on.]
5. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
6. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
7. $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | [Enoplious, for the same motive as the Pherecratean above.]

1. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
2. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
3. $\cup \cup \cup$ |
4. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
5. $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
6. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ | [taken as sync. iamb. It can also be taken as a Pherecratean. Cf. above.]
7. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
8. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |
9. $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup$ |

C.—*Dochmiacs.*D.—*Glyconics.*

E.

$\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ ||
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ ||
 $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ |

Glyc.²
 Glyc.²
 Glyc.² ($\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ | $\cup \cup$)
 Pherecr.²
 Glyc.² + Pherecr.²
 Glyc.³
 Pherecr.¹
 Glyc.² + $\cup \cup \cup$ as a termination.

Pherecr.²
 Pherecr.²
 Glyc.²
 Pherecr.²

ARCHAEOLOGY.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM
DEDEAGATCH.

The inscription which I give below is on one of several marble slabs discovered at a depth of some 10 feet at Dedeagatch—a small town on the coast of Thrace—near the Lighthouse. They were brought to light accidentally by some men digging in order to lay the foundations of a new house. The stones have been removed to the Government House (Konak) by the authorities.

This is the inscription:—

ΟΡΟΣ
 ΧΩΡΑΣ
 ΙΕΡΑΣ
 ΘΕΩΝ
 ΤΩΝΕΝ
 ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΚΗΣ

"Όρος χώρας ιερᾶς θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ.

'Boundary of the ground sacred to the gods worshipped in Samothrace.'

The slab was evidently a terminal stone indicating the limits of some *τέμενος* consecrated, in all probability, to the Kabeiroi Daemons who were specially worshipped in the island of Samothrace which lies off Dedeagatch.

G. F. ABBOTT.

SALONICA, TURKEY
Nov. 17, 1900.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C. R.* 1900, p. 236).

THE following short account of the excavations of the Forum deals with the period from last March to the beginning of January. The work still continues with undiminished activity under the direction of Comm. Boni, and if, as all archaeologists hope, it is to be carried through with the same thoroughness that has marked it hitherto, another year or two may be spent before the area of excavation need be enlarged. It is the first time that any attempt has been made to reach the level of the primitive Forum—previous investigation has rarely penetrated even so far as the Forum of the last days of the Republic—and the results attained are most striking. A careful stratigraphic exploration of the Comitium has led Comm. Boni to recognize within a depth of 13 feet 8 inches the presence of no less than *twenty-three* different strata, each of which has been carefully examined and the objects belonging to it classified and separately arranged. The lowest of these contained, besides a flint and a piece of iron, probably belonging to some tool or weapon with a flat blade, fragments of large vases with red paste, and one piece of a vase of the Villanova type of the so-called Latin period, with geometrical designs scratched upon it.

A preliminary account of the excavations of the Comitium with many illustrations will be found in *Notizie degli Scavi* August 1900 p. 295 sqq.

If similar researches can be carried on in other parts of the Forum, it is obvious that the gain to our knowledge of its earlier history and topography will be incalculable. It is not too much to say that all that was known hitherto of the pre-Caesarian Forum¹ came from the classical authors.

¹ An exception must be made in favour of the Regia: but here our knowledge, which was due to the enterprise of non-Italian archaeologists—Jordan, Nichols and Hülsen—was, as the present excavations have shown, by no means complete.

It is of course to be regretted that the inevitable consequence of such deep level excavation is the destruction of a certain amount that belongs to the imperial and mediaeval periods which, were it possible, one would gladly see preserved. A convenient means of exploration is however often afforded by the numerous wells, belonging as a rule either to the period of the Republic or to the Middle Ages. These wells occur all over the Forum, and their presence in such numbers (30 or 40) is not altogether easy to explain. There is also ample space for sinking shafts in the large travertine paved central area of the Forum, and even in such a building as the Basilica Julia many gaps in the pavement may be utilized.² In any case, it is certain that only by the removal of what lies above can we gain information as to the Republican Forum of which we know so little, and the primitive Forum, of which we have hitherto known nothing: and this consideration, added to the assurance that careful notice has been and will be taken of all that has to be destroyed before its demolition is begun, will lead us surely to the conclusion that the gain infinitely exceeds the loss.

I.—Comitium.

Turning to the consideration of details we find that the controversy as to the Stele is being carried on with undiminished activity. The articles on the subject are literally legion: interesting summaries of the discussion are published periodically by Tropea in the *Rivista di Storia Antica*. Tropea agrees with Pais (*Nuova Antologia* Nov. 1899 Jan. 1900) Comparetti (*Iscrizione arcaica del Foro*) and Hülsen (*Rivista di Storia antica* 1900, 383) in the view that the inscription speaks of sacred formalities to be performed by the rex (*i.e.* the rex sacrorum) in the Comitium upon either the 24th March or the 24th May, on which days the calendars note, 'quando rex comitiavit, fas.' The words iumentum and kalator, which occur in the inscription, may permit the supposition that the rex was empowered to appear in the

² A basis for such explorations is formed by the accurate determination of the altitudes of the chief points in the Forum which was carried out in the spring of last year, of which an account is given in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, p. 200. With this account is given a general plan of the excavations, the only one at present available. This plan is reproduced in a handy form in Borsari's brochure *The Roman Forum in the light of recent excavations* (Officina Poligrafica Romana) Rome 1900.

Comitium in a carriage (see XII Tab. ap. Gellium 20, 1, 8). As however at least half of the inscription is wanting, and much of what remains is incomprehensible, attempts at complete interpretation and still more at adequate restoration seem doomed to failure. An important contribution to our knowledge as to the period to which the whole group of monuments belongs has been made by Savignoni in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for April 1900, p. 143. After a thorough examination of the objects discovered under the niger lapis of Maxentius, he comes to the conclusion that they belong to different periods, the earliest to the 7th, the latest to the 1st century B. C., the earliest and latest periods being most numerous represented. Further, they were not found lying in strata of different epochs, but were mixed up, so that they had evidently been brought from elsewhere, and therefore give no clue as to the date of the monuments which they covered. All that can be said is that the objects are clearly of a sacred nature, and that this is probably the reason why they were used to cover the remains of a group of monuments of peculiar sanctity. It is possible that they were brought here from the 18 small pits (cf. *C.R.* 1900 p. 237) which were found in the area of the Comitium. This supposition would account for the fact that these pits (which we thus assume to have been intended for the reception of votive objects) have all been found to contain earth only.

This announcement has somewhat modified the conditions of the discussion. It has now become perfectly clear that this sacra stipes cannot be used to date the inscription of the Stele. This one might have suspected before from the mention by Boni in the first report of the discovery of the existence of chips of Pentelic marble, of black marble of the variety to which belong the slabs of the lapis niger, among the objects found¹ (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1899 p. 157, 158): though Gamurrini's solemn declaration on the very next page of the same report (*ibid.* p. 159) that the sacra stipes certainly belonged to the first half of the 6th century B. C. and could not possibly be later seems to have (as might have been expected from the circumstances under which it was made) misled the majority of archaeologists: and Pais is amply justified in asking (*Rivista di Storia antica* 1900 p. 295) why a year was allowed to pass (during

which innumerable treatises on the subject were written) before the world was informed that, after all, the so-called sacra stipes contained objects belonging to the first century B. C. and could not therefore be used as evidence for the dating of the inscription. Even Comparetti was not in possession of all the essential facts at the time when his work—the best that has so far appeared on the subject—was written (compare Tropea's remarks in the same periodical 1900 p. 300).

The stratigraphic examination that has been made in the Comitium has already been referred to. Among the finds of interest are a few amphorae, buried purposely in this spot, which remind one of the 'locus qui vocatur doliola ad cluacam maximam, ubi non licet despuere, a doliolis sub terra' (Varro L.L. v, 157). This has generally been taken (Jordan I, 2, 486, Gilbert I, 78) to have been situated in the Forum Boarium, near the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima; but it may well have been here, as Boni (*op. cit.* p. 316) thinks. We must remember in this connexion that the Cloaca Maxima which runs along the S. E. side of S. Adriano (the Curia) has recently been discovered not to have been the original one, but a later deviation of its course (see below): but even so, the earliest Cloaca Maxima is not far distant. Other noteworthy discoveries are an extensive deposit of flanged roof tiles in the twentieth stratum, and, near the mouth of a Republican well at the E. end of the steps of the Curia, some fragments of very fine stucco decoration, which may have belonged to the internal decoration of the Curia of Sulla or of Caesar (Boni *op. cit.* p. 302). An interesting article by Lanciani (*Bull. Comunale* 1900, 13) points out that the fountain which has recently been discovered in front of the Curia was not the only one in this district, but that the well-known Marforio also occupied a place near by (on the N. W. side of the church of S. Martina) during the Middle Ages. It is very doubtful whether the 'Tiberis' mentioned by the Einsiedeln pilgrim is a reference to this statue (cf. Jordan *Topographie* ii, 348. *Röm. Mittheil.* 1891, 50. Lanciani *Monumenti dei Lincei*, 496): but it is spoken of in all the various editions of the *Mirabilia*, and was only removed in the time of Gregory xiii (1572–1585).

The granite tazza which from 1593 till 1817 served as a fountain basin near the temple of Castor, and now stands between the statues of the Dioscuri in the

¹ We are now told that fragments of giallo antico, (Numidian marble) and rosso antico (Taenarian marble) were also found (Savignoni *loc. cit.*)

Quirinal may very well have belonged to the newly discovered fountain, as it certainly came from the neighbourhood of S. Adriano. Flaminio Vacca (*mem.* 69 in *Fea Miscellanea* vol I p. 83) states in fact that it was found when the Marforio was removed. Giovanni Ruccellai however in his description of the jubilee of 1450 (published in *Archivio soc. rom. Storia patria* iv, 563) speaks of 'a large marble figure almost lying down, which is called Marfuori, with a vase or basin by it.' And Nicolas Muffel, writing in 1452 (*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, published by Michaelis in *Römische Mittheilungen* 1888, 254) says 'in front of the prison of S. Peter lies a large carved figure and it has in front of it two basins of marble about seven toises in diameter.'

No other account speaks of two fountain basins, but if Muffel is to be trusted one of them must have stood close to the Marforio, as Ruccellai's account would imply, while the other belonged to the newly discovered fountain in front of the Curia.

II.—Rostra.

Comparetti (*L'Iscrizione arcaica del Foro*, p. 6), maintains that the earliest Rostra are to be found on the west of the Stele, where a platform of tufa blocks, orientated exactly according to the cardinal points, has been discovered. The orientation of the Sacellum formed by the two pedestals immediately on the E. of the Stele, with a space between them, probably occupied by the original lapis niger, is not as I stated in *C.R.*, 1899, 321, almost due N. and S., but diverges about 30° E. of N. This, as Hülsen notes (*Riv. di Stor. Antica*, 1900, p. 402), corresponds with the orientation of the south side of the Carcer and of the temples of Concord and of Saturn, as the orientation of the supposed Rostra corresponds with that of the Comitium as proposed by him in *Röm. Mittheil.* 1893, 79 sqq.: the only alteration to be made is that the dividing line between Comitium and Forum must fall 35 metres further south than he had supposed, so that the rostra, the stele and the sacellum may coincide with it. The only difficulty is that the 'tomb of Romulus' would be neither 'post rostra' nor 'pro rostris' (the phrase, whichever reading is preferable, must refer to an orator facing either Forum or Comitium), but alongside of them.¹ Cf. *C.R.* 1899, 465.

¹ The scholia of cod. Paris. 7975 on the same passage (*Hor. Epod.* 16, 13) give the following

Thirty or forty yards further to the S.W. behind, but for the most part to the S. of the semicircular structure, faced with slabs of portasanta, which, in its turn, lies behind the edifice, which has from 1883 up till now been known as the Rostra of Julius Caesar, a building of quite a different nature has been discovered, which is held by Boni to be the Rostra of the great dictator. It consists of a row of eight small arched chambers, the northernmost of which lies in a straight line between the column of Phocas and the tower of the Capitol: they are about 5 feet in height from floor to crown of arch, 5½ in span, and 7 in depth. The walls are constructed of opus incertum of capellaccio tufa, which is dark-green and compact when not exposed to air or sun, but soon becomes ash-gray and lamellar, flaking very easily, and the voussoirs of the arches are neatly cut blocks of the same material. The whole was covered with coarse white cement, with a quarter round moulding in the angles between walls and floor. The floor of the chambers, and the area in front of them for the space of about 18 feet, is paved with roughly cut tesserae of brick, resembling closely that found in the vicus Tuscus (*C.R.* 1899, p. 466). A piece of a similar pavement, but at a higher level and with larger tesserae, has been discovered near the north angle of the Basilica Julia (see below).

The spring of the arches is only about 1 foot above the level of the tessellated pavement; the lowest voussoirs tail into one another, and on all the piers, with the exception of the terminal piers at the N. and S. ends and the last intermediate pier but one² to the south, there is a double cornice.

Above the arches runs a line of tufa slabs, which were also covered with stucco and form the edge of the floor of rammed tufa, which lies over the top of the arches.

This structure was obviously a platform of some kind, but its identification with the Rostra of Caesar is open to grave doubts. The great argument in its favour is the coin of the gens Lollia, figured by Babelon, *Monnaies de la République* II., 148, no. 2. This coin dates from about 45 B.C., according to Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité* II, 311, having probably been struck

account: plerumque aiunt in rostris Romulum sepultum fuisse et in memoriam huius rei leones duos ibi fuisse, sicut hodieque in sepulcris videmus, atque inde esse ut pro rostris mortui laudarentur.

² The last intermediate pier is almost entirely destroyed.

by M. Lollius, M.F., (consul 21 B.C.) in honour of his father (?) M. Lollius Palikanus, who was tribune in 71 B.C. and might have been elected consul in 67 B.C. had not Piso refused to announce his name even if he should be elected (Val. Max. III. 8 § 3).¹

This much discussed coin has been held by some writers to represent a bridge or the Navalía, but Jordan (*Topographie*, I. 2, 355, note 64) maintains that the subject is the Rostra. We see five arches, supported by four pillars (the end pillars not being shown), from three of which rostra project towards the left; above the arches runs a double line (slightly curved downwards owing to considerations of space), and upon this stands a seat like a bisellium, above which is the cognomen Palikan(us). There is thus a certain similarity between the coin and the newly discovered structure: but it must be noted (1) that it is not at all easy to tell whether in the coin the rostra are represented as attached to the pillars or as projecting through the arches (in the latter case we should probably have to consider the coin as a representation of the Navalía), (2) that the structure in question, the cement facing of which is in extremely good preservation, presents no traces whatsoever of having ever had anything in the nature of rostra attached to it.

There are, however, even stronger arguments against Boni's theory. In the first place, looking for the moment only at the style of its construction, one would be inclined to date the building a good deal earlier than the time of Caesar. According to Lanciani *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 45, the use of opus incertum was abandoned 'about the time of Sulla in favour of the more regular opus reticulatum'; and the specimen before us bears the closest resemblance to the opus incertum of the porticus Aemilia (*op. cit.* p. 44, Fig. 17) which dates from the earlier half of the second century B.C. In view of the fact that no general canons for dating Roman buildings within a few years by their style of construction have as yet been established, too much stress need not be laid upon this argument. But it is surely fair to say that the whole structure is too poor² to form part of the great reconstruction of the Forum and the buildings surrounding it, which was planned by Julius and completed by his successor. It

may be noted also that it adheres to the orientation of the temple of Saturn, though, as the Rostra of opus quadratum face almost precisely the same way, the fact is not decisive.

Lastly (and this is perhaps the most important consideration) we find that the first arch and part of the second (from the N. end) fall behind the semicircular structure faced with slabs of portasanta: the concrete core of this adheres to and blocks up these arches, and the whole rises about seven feet above the platform which they support, so that it is obvious that the construction of the hemicycle meant the destruction, or at any rate the superseding, of the arched structure. On the other hand, notwithstanding the contention of Jordan (*Topographie* i. 2, 241), who is followed by Richter (*Jahrb. des Inst.*, 1889, 3), that the hemicycle is later in date than the Rostra of opus quadratum, the arguments by which Nichols (*Notizie dei Rostr* pp. 38-45) maintains the contrary seem to me decisive. This being so, if we assume that Boni's theory is correct, we have to find the Rostra which were in use at the time when the Rostra of opus incertum were obstructed by the hemicycle and the Rostra of opus quadratum were not yet constructed; and we seem to be left with the necessity of supposing that the hemicycle itself at one time served as the Rostra. But if the Rostra was a templum (Livy VIII. 14 § 12 rostris (navium Antiatium) suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit, rostraque id templum appellatum), it can never have been a building of this kind (cf. Jordan, *Topographie* I. 2, 356, note 64 *ad fin.*). Further, the nails which are found in the slabs of portasanta, and which supported apparently something in the way of metal ornaments, can never have carried anything so heavy as the Rostra must have been. Nor does the discovery of tiles bearing stamps of the time of Severus (*C.I.L.* xv. 405) in the pavement of the room beneath the platform of the Rostra of opus quadratum necessitate our supposing that the building as a whole cannot belong to the time of Caesar or Augustus, for this tile floor is not organically connected with the structure. We seem to be led to the conclusion that some other name must be found for the newly discovered arcade, and it is just possible that here we have the Graecostasis of the Republic. This must have stood on the right of the Rostra to one standing on the steps of the Curia (Pliny *H.N.* VII. § 212, Jordan *Topographie* I., 2, 341, cf. Varro *L.L.* V. 154, 'sub dextra huius (the rostra) a comitio

¹ To this fact the curule chair on the reverse of Babelon *loc. cit.* no 1. alludes.

² The presence of the cornice on some of the pilasters only is a very noticeable peculiarity.

locus substructus is Graecostasis appellatur,' and not very far off; but beyond this we have no data for fixing its site, except that it was above the comitium close to the Volcanal; for the aedicula Concordiae described by Pliny *H.N.* XXXIII, 19, as 'in graecostasi, quae tunc supra comitium erat,' is placed by Livy IX, 46 'in area Volcani,' which was 'locus editus' (Gell. IV. 5, 4) 'supra comitium' (Festus p. 290 Müll.) and not very from S. Adriano (*C.I.L.* VI 457) nor the Forum Julium (Pliny *H.N.* XVI. § 236, Hülsen *Röm. Mith.* 1843, p. 87 note), in front apparently of the temple of Concord (Livy XL 19 § 2, speaks of 'area Volcani et Concordiae').

The Senaculum was also close by according to Varro *L.L.* V, 156 'senaculum super Graecostasim, ubi aedes Concordiae et basilica Opimia.' It is worth noticing that, behind the centre of the hemicycle and about 10 ft. below the travertine slabs which crown it, there has recently been discovered a small portion (about 18 ft. in depth) of an open area paved with chips of red tufa rammed hard, ending off with a slab of capellaccio tufa with curved edge, in front of which runs a gutter, and beyond this another slab of tufa at the lower level. The area is cut off on the north-west by the cloaca of the Vicus Jugarius, the crown of which is about two feet above it; under it runs a box drain of slabs of tufa. This area must have extended at least as far as the north end of the platform of the arched structure of opus incertum, which is slightly higher in level. It may be conjectured that this area is either the Senaculum or the Volcanal, falling as it does in front of the steps of the temple of Concord. The gutter at the edge of it has the same orientation as the arched structure just mentioned.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

(To be continued.)

WICKHOFF AND STRONG'S ROMAN ART.

Roman Art. Some of its Principles and their Application to early Christian Painting. By FRANZ WICKHOFF. Translated and edited by Mrs. STRONG (Miss E. Sellers). W. Heinemann. £1 16s. net.

THE second title of this book is more exact than the first. When, some years ago, the important illuminated Vienna MS. of Genesis was published officially, Prof. Wickhoff

wrote for the plates a general introduction of ninety-six pages explaining the origin and character of the art shewn in the illumination of the MS. His discussion, however, went far beyond his theme, and he sketched in outline the whole course of late Hellenistic and Roman painting and reliefs. This introduction Mrs. Strong has translated, and added a number of illustrations besides those in the original work, to render it more intelligible to the English student. Thus the reader must not expect to find in this book, large as it looks, any systematic account of Roman art, but rather a genial and suggestive essay on some aspects of that art, accompanied by full illustrations.

Prof. Wickhoff is primarily an art-critic; and evidently far more at home in dealing with the art of modern Europe than in speaking of that of Greece and Italy. But the formal or artistic side of ancient painting and sculpture is apt to be overlooked by the classically trained archaeologist, and it is a great gain to him to have the views of art-critics of wide range. Prof. Brücke of Vienna, and Prof. Lange of Copenhagen, though not learned archaeologists, have published works of great value in the study of Greek sculpture in the round, and Prof. Wickhoff has rendered similar service to the study of ancient painting and relief-sculpture.

The section in books on ancient art dealing with Rome is usually as meagre as would be a chapter on snakes in a description, not perhaps of Iceland, but of England. 'The Romans had little taste for art, and borrowed everything from the Greeks,'—this is the ordinary verdict. But Prof. Wickhoff takes a very different line. He maintains Roman art to be a national creation; he considers that it was greatest in the Flavian and Antonine ages; and he even seems to prefer it to the great fifth century art of Greece, or at least to regard it as standing in more sympathetic relations to modern art. His theory, which is set forth both in the German and the English version of his essay with the greatest clearness and force, may be easily summarised. Before criticising it we will state it, as nearly as may be, in his own way.

The spirit of Roman was throughout in strong contrast to that of Greek art. While the Greek artist, not only in the great age, but even in late Hellenistic times, sought the type, the essential, the Italian artist sought the individual, the characteristic. His object was not to attain idealism, but to produce illusion by any

means in his power. This is especially seen in Italian provincial portraits. 'These portrait heads, home-made enough many of them, express clearly the Western spirit, and point the way to a new departure in Roman art, destined to differ noticeably from Hellenistic work.' In the greater works of the Augustan age, such as the Ara Pacis at Rome, some of the Pompeian paintings and the portraits of Augustus himself, we see something of Roman tendency: but art was then dominated by a spirit of somewhat dry and pedantic naturalism, the style formed by Greek artists in their reaction against the overblown and turgid tendencies of the schools of Pergamon and other Hellenistic centres. One of the earliest works in which the Italian spirit and the style of illusion appear is the monument of the Haterii in the Lateran, dating from the end of the first century A.D., the sculptures of which 'are far removed from every variety of stylistic Hellenized work, and have grown straight out of the spirit and the needs of the Roman people.' The same tendency at a more advanced stage, and in the hands of more skilful artists, is to be seen in the reliefs of the Arch of Titus. Here illusion, the impression of motion, is the one thing aimed at and attained. In the column of Trajan at Rome, and his arch at Beneventum we have further developments of the style of illusion. And on the column in particular we find an art-habit which goes with this, the way of continuous narration (*continuierende Erzählungsweise*). The Emperor appears in the winding frieze more than ninety times; the scenes are not divided, but successive events run one into the other as we follow the relief. This manner of continuous narration was unknown to the Greeks, but on characteristic Roman monuments such as the triumphal columns and sarcophagi it occurs constantly. And it was taken on from declining Roman art by rising Christian art, of which attempt at illusion and continuous narration are for centuries the main features, until the rise of modern art.

We clearly have here what is at all events a working theory of Roman art. It is impossible thoroughly to examine it; but I may glance at what I consider the strong and weak points of Prof. Wickhoff's views. With Greek art he scarcely deals. Though in one place he calls it a 'noble drama,' it is evident that on the whole he has little sympathy for it. To him illusionist art is far more attractive than the sober and balanced art of Hellas. Sometimes how-

ever he makes valuable suggestions even in this field, as when (p. 19) he insists that Greek art throughout, and by its very nature, strove through the individual to the type. Here he is right. Even the most naturalist portraits of later Greece, such as the bronze boxer of the Terme, are full of ideal elements, and never merely individual. Lysippus, though possessed of a profounder knowledge of nature, aims at the type as much as Polycleitus. Other good observations are that it is impossible to thoroughly understand Greek reliefs until we have carefully taken into account the colouring which they bore and the shadows cast by the prominent parts; and that it is usually a mistake to regard the portraits of Roman Emperors as favourable examples of the art of their age, since they were made in numbers for the Provinces.

Sometimes however, I think, Prof. Wickhoff is misled by imperfect acquaintance with antiquity. It may be a trifle that he should spell Apelles Apelles, and Hypsipyle Hypsipile,¹ but the slips are suggestive; and it shews imperfect comprehension of Greek art to say that in the Hellenistic age the whole effect of the narrative part of painting depends on the expression of passion in faces (p. 138).

These are small matters. Let us pass to broader issues, and consider the continuous method of representation, and the style of illusion, views about which form the key-stone of Prof. Wickhoff's system.

In regard to the continuous narrative style the writer falls into considerable inconsistency. In the early part of the book he says roundly that it appears 'for the first time upon Roman sculptures of the first century.' 'It had been unknown to the great period of classical antiquity.' 'It was not adopted by Hellenic art.' In the notes apparent exceptions to these dicta are disposed of. But later on in the book (p. 156) the author takes a more moderate, and a truer view. 'In its origin it is not exclusively Roman. We found it making its appearance' 'in old Asiatic art. We also saw how the juxtaposition of the exploits of a hero in various periods of Greek art led to similar *schemata*, and we can also trace it in individual instances in the painting of the age of the Diadochi, first on the vases, and then in the following period on the Pompeian pictures.'

Even thus however, our author does not go far enough. He does not seem to

¹ Mrs. Strong corrects the former of these misspellings, but not the latter.

realize the anthropological aspect of this method of continuous narrative, in which a hero reappears several times in the same picture engaged in different actions. It is found all over the world, among red Indians and Esquimaux, as well as in Asia and Africa. Most of us have seen it flourishing in the first sketch books of clever children. Thus it is scarcely possible to speak of it as the invention of any age. It is essentially childish, and whenever art is in a childish stage, it will be found. The Greeks never at any time wholly gave it up; but of course it is very rare in the works of mature Greek art, as it is rare in the paintings of the later Renaissance. When Greek art fell into its second childhood it again became usual, as it is on the Sarcophagi, Greek as well as Roman. The Romans having less acute perception in art than the Greeks more easily admitted it. And Christian art, which came in, not as a child, but as a baby, took to it quite naturally. I see in this course of events no great credit due to Roman art. Nor can I understand that there is any organic connexion between this style of continuous narrative and the style of illusion, unless indeed it lie in the psychological fact that both are simple, naïve, aiming direct at the end to be attained.

According to Prof. Wickhoff's view, the great merit of the Roman artists is that they introduced, in place of a dry and pedantic naturalism, an art which he calls illusionist. It is very clear that illusionism in art comprises in the view of the writer the sum of all excellence, and if this quality be present, he is ready to forgive faults of drawing, of grouping, or of meaning. This is scarcely a place for setting forth in detail what Prof. Wickhoff means by illusionist art (pp. 117-121) or to criticise his view that it is the great light of modern painting. But what he says of illusionist Roman reliefs will not to all readers appear altogether a panegyric. He observes (p. 58) that to the critic who requires in art a *what* as well as a *how*, who is not content with mere expression, but wishes to know what is expressed, the art of the Roman Empire will appear 'nothing but a rubbish-heap of eternal repetitions.' He says of the reliefs on the Arch of Titus, 'a frame is simply thrown open, and through it we look at the march past of the triumphal procession.' 'Beauty of line, symmetry of parts, such as a conventional art demands, are no longer sought for.' 'Were the work still coloured, and in thorough preservation,

the gay brilliancy would distract attention from many a defect' 'the gay dresses and gilded ornaments, the Emperor with his jewels and the flashing wings of the Victory, all this must have resulted in an effect of festal magnificence which would blind the spectator to the indubitable faults.'

It is not wonderful that a critic who approaches art in this spirit should fail to appreciate the frieze of the Parthenon. But many readers of the *Classical Review* will feel unsympathetic towards an art which 'rises to the point of development where it rejects with disdain all sources of extraneous interest, such as religion or poetry, and sufficient to itself becomes in its last stage an art only for artists,' which despises drawing and perspective, grouping and arrangement, thought and purpose, and gloats over 'a congeries of patches and spots differing from each other in colour and degree of illumination.' And they will ask themselves whether it is possible that so serious and ethical—or shall we rather say in Mr. Wickhoff's phrases, so pedantic and philistine?—a people as the Romans really introduced this character into art as the expression of their national spirit. 'Illusionism was the immediate precursor of the fantastic.'¹ Now whatever the Roman spirit was, it was not fantastic. As an art-critic Prof. Wickhoff is most accomplished; and I at least should not venture to dispute his verdict, when he finds illusionist elements in Roman reliefs and paintings; but we may be allowed to regard this quality rather as a consequence of the Roman's simplicity and want of culture than of his love of art for art's sake. The monument of the Haterii, in particular, is little removed from barbarism. And the decorative paintings of the latest style at Pompeii, which shew, according to Prof. Wickhoff, most of Roman influence, will not meet with many admirers.

Prof. Wickhoff has the merit of directing our attention to the side of Roman art which is more independent of Greek influence, and of putting a limit to the overdone tendency to trace everything Roman to Hellenistic models: but he goes too far in the opposite direction. For instance, in denying to the Greeks any share in a work such as the column of Trajan he does not make account of historic reliefs such as that which is found on the so-called Nereid monument of Lycia. The main stream of Greek art is devoted to

¹ This, like all the previous phrases between inverted commas, is a phrase of Prof. Wickhoff's own.

mythologic scenes; but there were many eddies in which the more historic and realistic art of Assyria found a successor. One can scarcely doubt that in the paintings and reliefs of Ionia and in the triumphal representations of the Hellenistic kings there were prototypes of the sculptures of Trajan and Antoninus.

Prof. Wickhoff's style is quite unlike the ordinary manner of the German specialist: it is bright and clear, with short vigorous sentences. The translator has well preserved that clearness, as a general rule. We may find a few peccadilloes by careful search. On p. 6 we have tones for stones, on p. 96 statues for statuettes, on p. 160 rococo for rocco. We regret such inelegancies as 'received a spurt from India' (p. 55) and 'one of the last which was' (p. 102). I could not understand the phrase 'unrestrained gaiety' which in the English text is applied to the Parthenon Frieze, until I found that the original German was *heitere Unbefangenheit*, which means a very different thing. Also since the translator has inserted several references, she might well have put in references at p. 154 to Prof. Woermann's reproductions of the Esquiline pictures, and at p. 162 to the coins of Corinth bearing the figure of Isthmus.

The illustrations inserted in the text of the German work appear as separate plates in the English version, and in addition Mrs. Strong has inserted some eighty process cuts in her text. These are carefully chosen, and enable the reader to understand the argument without constant reference to other books. We cannot, however, fail to note in passing that what the Vienna printer can put into the text, the English printer cannot so deal with: and further, that the cuts in the English work are painfully inferior to those in the Viennese work.

Though I have no sympathy with Mr. Wickhoff's theory of art, I fully allow the suggestive and stimulating character of his essay. Perhaps it is the only existing book on Roman art which can claim these qualities; it is therefore likely to promote the study of the subject. In translating and illustrating her author Mrs. Strong has spared no pains, and has been successful.

P. GARDNER.

ON LOCAL CULTS IN BRITAIN AND SPAIN.¹

The two papers, whose titles are given below, furnish interesting contributions to our knowledge of certain cults in Britain and Spain. Britain was so far behind the other provinces in point of development that the field which the writer of the first article has chosen for his monograph would not at first sight seem a promising one; but the remoteness of the island lends a greater interest to any information which can be had upon its civilization, and makes the positive results which Professor Moore has reached the more surprising. Inscriptions are found in honour of Astarte, Dea Syria, Hercules Tyrius, Jupiter Optimus Maximus with the cognomina Dolichenus and Heliopolitanus, Serapis, Mithras and Sol. Of these deities Mithras and Sol were evidently the favourites. That the worship of these oriental divinities was rather widespread is attested by the fact that there were altars in their honour at almost every Roman camp, and proof is to be found of the existence of at least five temples erected for their worship, three of them being dedicated to Mithras. Most of the inscriptions bearing on the subject have been found at the stations along Hadrian's wall, and fall within the period extending from Hadrian's campaigns to the close of the third century of our era. The names of civilian traders appear very rarely in the dedicatory inscriptions, and it is evident that soldiers were the main adherents of these oriental faiths. Their efforts as missionaries, however, do not seem to have made much of an impression on the natives of Britain. It is interesting to notice that the war-god Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus is a favourite with the soldiers, and although it does not fall within the scope of Professor Moore's paper to note the fact, it seems to be true also that the British or Teutonic deities favoured by the soldiers are those of a warlike character. Incidentally the proof given on p. 50 that Africa was the home of the Hamii seems convincing.

Mr. Fiske's work is not in a strictly virgin field. As he notes on p. 104 of his monograph, some phases of his subject have been discussed by Ciccotti and Beurler, but the new material which he has been able to

¹ *Oriental Cults in Britain*, CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE; *Notes on the Worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain*, GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. xi, pp. 47-60 and 101-139.

bring together (cf. p. 112 n. 5; 131 n. 1), and the certain, or probable, conclusions which he has reached on a number of controverted points are a satisfactory return for the labour which he has spent. The material has been treated under three heads: the municipal priesthoods, the conventual priesthoods, and the provincial priesthoods. Some of the conclusions which he reaches are that the municipal flamen was elected (p. 116), as was also the municipal flaminica, who, therefore, 'held no necessary relation to the flamen' (p. 115), that the flamen probably held office for a year (p. 117), and that the municipal pontiffs and sacerdotes and the provincial flamens were probably elected annually (pp. 122, 132), the latter being chosen by the concilium. On pp. 119-120 and 137 some interesting points of difference in the matter of priesthoods and the development of the imperial cult in the three Spanish provinces are noted. In general the worship of the emperor seems to have been more widespread in Tarraconensis than it was in Baetica or Lusitania. Tarraconensis in fact seems to have been the first province in the west to take the initiative in establishing the imperial cult (pp. 135-6). In that connexion (p. 135) the misprint Nipperday for Nipperdey occurs. It seems to the reviewer surprising that there are so few Spanish inscriptions connected with the imperial cult from the reigns of the Flavian emperors. These rulers assisted in the construction of public roads and public works in the provinces. They raised distinguished provincials to the senatorial order, and under them no less than 120 towns in Baetica received the *ius Latii*. Of Vespasian Pliny (*N. H.* 3. 30) remarks, *universae Hispaniae Vespasianus Augustus iactatum procellis reip. Latium tribuit*. It seems strange, therefore, that the gratitude, which the Spaniards would naturally feel for this generous treatment, does not find expression in the extension of the cult of the Flavian emperors.

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MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Modena. A sepulchral *cippus* of limestone has been found, with two female busts in relief, in which the wavy treatment of the hair is characteristic of the early empire; in the same tomb were found four bronze celtus of Augustus, one of A.D. 11. The inscription on the *cippus* is: SALVIA O ITALIA | SIBI

ET SALVIAE SEX | L CYPRIDI PATRON | AE IN
FROTEM | P XIV IN AGRVM | P XIV. The busts
therefore represent *Salvia Italica* and her *patrona*
Salvia Cypris.¹

Chiusi. A series of Etruscan tombs has come to light containing various inscribed marble sarcophagi and urns. One of the former has a relief of a horseman and a warrior, each attended by Charun. Another is in the form of a temple with Doric pilasters at the angles, and palmettes at the angles of the roof; on the pediments are myrtle-wreaths, and in front is represented a closed panelled door, with a space above for an inscription, which was never used.²

Pompeii. Several new paintings were discovered in May, 1900, one representing the death of Neoptolemos at the altar of Apollo at Delphi (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, i. p. 321, and Eur. *Androm.* 1090 ff.). Another has the rare and interesting subject of Pero nourishing her father in prison with milk from her own breast (cf. Valer. Max. v. 4, and Helbig and Donner, *Wandgem. Campaniens*, No. 1376). The name of the father, which Valerius gives as Cimon, here appears as Micon. [In the Delphin edition of Valerius *Miconem* is given as an alternative reading for *Cimonem*, suggested by Muncker in *Hyginum*. H. B. W.] On the painting is an epigram of six lines:

Quae parvis mater natis alimenta parabat
fortuna in patrios vertit iniqua cibos
..... est tenui cervice seniles
ast liquidos venae lacte m
..... simul voltu fricat ipsa Miconem
Pero tristis inest cum pietate pador.³

The discovery is also noted of an inscription in archaic letters: A LIVIVS A F | L ACILIVS L F | AED | SL DEDERVNT. That SL stands for s(r)l(ocvm) is clear from the parallel in *C. I. L.* i. 38, SL IVDIK = s(r)l(itibus) iudic(antis).⁴

Bosco reale. A magnificent villa of twenty-four chambers has been excavated. It contained no objects of interest, but the walls are covered with splendid paintings, rivalling those of the house of Vettius, over seventy in all. The figures are mostly of colossal size, but the majority represent compositions of 'still life.' They date from the end of the Republic. The most important figures are: a lute-player, double life-size; a gladiator conversing with a woman; and a woman in the attitude of a listener.⁴

Rome. A detailed account has been published of the recent excavations in the temple of Vesta and adjacent precincts, including an account of the contents of the well (see *C. R.* 1899, pp. 185, 330). In the well a stamp of Theodoric, and a coin of Tiberius were found at a very low level. Among the fragments of pottery are Proto-Corinthian and Attic b. f. and r. f. wares, as well as Italian; they include b. f. vases with a Maenad on a bull and other Dionysiac scenes; two fragments of r. f. kylikes of the school of Euphronios with figures of warriors; part of an Italiote vase with a sacrificial scene; and a fragment of Faliscan ware with a large female head in profile. Other finds were: nine weights from a loom (*κρυσθες* or *λαῖαι*), part of a terracotta sieve, numerous female figures in terracotta, and about 100 pieces of *a-s rude*.⁵

Further details have now been given of the *fons Iuturnae*, the discovery of which was briefly mentioned in *C. R.* 1900, p. 378. It consists of a fine

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Apr. 1900.

² *Ibid.* June, 1900.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, May, 1900.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 17 Nov. 1900.

marble *puteal*, inscribed M' BARBATVS POLLIO AED' CVR' IVTVRNAI SACRVM VSTITUIT (*sic*) PVTEAL. There is apparently an allusion to this official in Cicero's thirteenth Philippic (ch. 2). Adjoining the *puteal* is an *ardicula*, on the architrave of which are the words IVTVRNAI SA[CRVM] in gilt letters. At the base of this was found the lower part of a marble female statue, apparently a Minerva, altered in the third or fourth century after Christ into Juturna. In front of the *puteal* was a marble altar with relief of a girl taking leave of a warrior, presumably Juturna and Turnus. In the middle of a tank sixty or seventy feet to the north is a square pedestal, on which has now been placed a marble altar, which does not belong to it; the latter is of the second century after Christ and has reliefs of Jupiter and the Dioscuri, Leda and the swan, and Diana Lucifera. It was found at the bottom of the tank. Fragments have been found of figures of the Dioscuri leading their horses to the sacred spring after the battle of Regillus; one horse's head which is well preserved proclaims the group to be Greek work of the fourth century. It probably stood on the pedestal above mentioned.⁵

Sig. Boni has found a new *cloaca*, six or seven layers below the pavement of the portico of the Basilica Aemilia. It was made of blocks of tufa, axe-hewn, and vaulted, and appears to have been stopped up in the second century B.C. It certainly dates from the time of the Kings, and no doubt much interesting material is buried in the earth it contains.⁴

The same excavator's continued investigation of the Forum shows definitely that the level in the last years of the Republic was much lower than in Imperial times. The two chief epochs in the building of the Forum seem to have been the reign of Domitian and the year 418 A.D. In the latter year the Rostra were extended to insert the so-called *Rostra Vandalica* won in that year. The Rostra in the Forum hitherto thought to be those of Julius Caesar's time are undoubtedly of Imperial date; those of Caesar's time Sig. Boni finds in a vaulted colonnade by the Graecostasis (cf. coins of 45 B.C.). Above this colonnade was a balustraded platform for the speakers.⁴

SICILY.

Termini Imerese.—A recent find of coins includes several interesting tetradrachms: one of Messana, with hare and biga; two of Corinth, with Pegasus; Syracusan t-tetradrachm with Kore-head of Euaietos' type and chariot after Kymon and Eukleidas; similar tetradrachm, but the head has flowing locks; four Punic-Sicilian tetradrachms, with Phoenician inscriptions, imitating the types of Euainetos and Eukleidas. Of the latter one with a chariot and altar on the rev. is almost unique, the only other examples being at Milan and in the Imhoof-Blumer collection.³

GREECE.

Athens.—Tombs of the fifth-fourth centuries have been found on the δδδς *Ψαρουλίγγου*. In one were four skeletons with two fifth-century lekythi lying by them, one with remains of fine drawing on a white ground; another contained a tablet of Hymettian marble with inscription in fifth century letters, the red colour on them still remaining: ΦΑΙΔ.ΟΝ|ΛΥΣΙΕΤΡΑΤ|Ο ΑΧΑΡΝΕ|ΥΣ, Φαίδ(ρ)ων Λυσιστράτου Ἀχαρνέως. Also several clay sarcophagi

containing skeletons of children, with playthings and small cups and jugs.⁷

Between Athens and Phaleron a cemetery of over 150 tombs has come to light. Among their contents are a marble fifth-century relief, representing a young married couple, the man greeting the woman, who holds a child, inscribed ΓΙΓΟΣΤΡΑΤΗΣ; white lekythi, and other vases, 24 in all, some being gilt; one represents a child playing with a hoop, another Dionysos on an ass; a leaden tablet with a ψήφισμα, a bronze dish, silver rings with reliefs, and two inscriptions.⁸

Keratea (Attica).—A large tomb-hydria has been found here with a finely-rendered relief of a seated man, another man, a woman, and a child. The figures are inscribed respectively: ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ, ΙΕΡΟΠΤΟΣ, ΝΑΥΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ, ΙΕΡΟΠΤΗ.⁹

Eretria.—During last summer the Greek Archaeological Society found on the west side of the Acropolis a hoard of terracottas of all periods. A Doric temple on the south side of the city has been partly cleared; it is about the same size as the old temple on the Acropolis of Athens, and below it are remains of an older building. Fragments of the pedimental groups were found representing Atalanta (?) and a runner; a horse with groom, and a pair of boxers, the technique being decidedly that of the Greek islands.⁷

At the west end of the town is an old necropolis, probably of a Boeotian settlement, which has yielded a large Dipylon vase of the eighth century B.C., painted with a funeral procession, also the base of a large sixth-century amphora with a frieze of birds (? Attico-Corinthian type). Fourth-century tombs were also found containing white lekythi, one being inscribed ΔΡΟΜΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΡΟΜΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ, Δρόμιππος καλὸς Δρομικλέους. A well-preserved bath of the Roman period came to light here, containing two circular halls with low tiled seats and stone pavement.⁹

ASIA MINOR.

Pergamon.—The Germans resumed excavations last September at the south gate of the upper city, and brought to light a courtyard 70 feet square with angle-towers enclosing a portion of the winding paved road up the hill, for which there are two gates on the west side. Opposite the gates is a colonnade with fountains. Higher up was the Hellenistic agora, 300 x 160 feet, with a two-storied colonnade and a row of shops.¹⁰

Kos.—Excavations on this island have brought to light a theatre of the Hellenic period, large buildings of Roman date, a beehive-tomb [*sic*; more probably a well-house], and a temple with cella and the base of the temple-statue, probably dedicated to Asklepios.⁸

AFRICA.

Carthage.—The Odeum built by the proconsul Vigellius Saturninus and mentioned by Tertullian has been discovered; it was semicircular in form and very magnificent. Dr. Gauckler has discovered all the architectural ornamentation of the stage, with Corinthian columns and sundry inscriptions; also

⁷ *Athen. Mittheil.* xxv. pt 3, p. 308.

⁸ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 22 Dec. 1900.

⁹ *Ibid.* 10 Nov. 1900.

¹⁰ *Athenaeum*, 1 Dec. 1900.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, 29 Dec. 1900.

⁶ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1 Dec. 1900.

Græco-Roman statues of Parian marble with remains of colouring, busts of various emperors and of Faustina (sic), and a statue of Hadrian in heroic costume.¹¹

Tunis.—The French have excavated the Roman fort of Elf-Hagneuf and laid it completely bare. Inscriptions show that the name of the place was Tissavar, and that the fort was built about 100 B.C. by a detachment of the third legion under Sextus Uquius (?) Paulinus and his lieutenants Vibianus and Myron. Among the objects discovered were a head of a laughing child, a bronze vase, and 222 spear-heads of stone.¹² H. B. WALTERS.

Revue numismatique. Part 3, 1900.

D. Tacchiella. 'Monnaies inédites de Cabyle et de Mesembria sur la mer égée.' Two bronze coins (obv. Apollo, rev. Artemis) are attributed to Cabyle, a Thracian town to which no coins have been hitherto assigned. A bronze coin with Dionysiac types is attributed by Tacchiella to Mesembria on the Aegean sea, a town mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 108. But

¹¹ *Athenaeum*, 8 Dec. 1900.

¹² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 8 Dec. 1900.

there seems to me no cogent reason why it should not be assigned to Mesembria on the Euxine, a much more important city of Thrace which is already known to have struck coins.—J. Maurice, 'L'atelier monétaire de Tarragone pendant la période Constantinienne.' Pp. 260-312.—M. Rostovtsev and M. Prou, 'Supplément au catalogue des plombs antiques de la bibliothèque nationale.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Part 4, Vol. xxii. (1900).

H. Dressel. 'Altgriechischer Münzfund aus Ägypten.' An interesting hoard of early Greek silver coins discovered in 1897 in the Delta, probably at Sakha (Xois). Some specimens have already been described by Weber in *Num. Chron.* 1899, p. 269. Many Greek cities are represented, as is also the case in other Egyptian finds of Greek money, e.g. the find of Myt-Rahineh. Dressel makes the very probable suggestion that this varied Greek currency formed a medium of exchange in Egypt during the long period (before Ptolemy I.) when there was no native issue of money. The varying denominations and 'types' of the imported coins created no difficulty as the specimens were probably weighed in every transaction of any importance.—V. Gardthausen. 'Eine Goldmünze des Nero aus der Umgegend von Barenau.'

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1900.

7 Nov. H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Ablaut vornehmlich in seinem Verhältnis zur Betonung* (Bartholomae). 'Too hastily done.' C. Harder, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee* (G. Vogrinz), favourable. G. Andresen, *In Taciti Historias studia critica et palaeographica*. II. (Th. Opitz). 'Very thorough.' P. Thomas, *Sénèque et J. J. Rousseau* (O. Weissenfels). 'Full of learning and sobriety.'

14 Nov. W. Lermann, *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen* (H. v. Fritze), very favourable. Th. Thalheim, *Zu Lykurgos und Lysias* (G. Hüttner). 'Will find general acceptance.' M. Gloth und Fr. Kellogg, *Index in Xenophontis Memorabilia* (W. Vollbrecht), 'Very careful and accurate.' L. Friedländer, *Der Philosoph Seneca* (W. Gemoll), favourable. A. Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*. I. (W. Amelung).

21 Nov. R. Engelmann, *Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* (M. Maas), favourable. G. E. Underhill, *A commentary with introduction and appendix on the Hellenica of Xenophon* (W. Vollbrecht). 'May be recommended.' G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia in the British Museum* (K. Regling). 'Of the greatest value.' *Le Liriche de Orazio*, commentate da V. Ussani. I. Gli Epodi, il I libro delle Odi (O. Weissenfels), favourable. *P. Vergili Maronis Georgicon liber iii*, ed. by T. E. Page (H. Winther), favourable. A. W. Mildner, *The limitations of the predicative position in Greek* (H. Kallenberg), 'Well arranged.' K. Thomas, *Bilder aus Sicilien und Griechenland*, favourable.

28 Nov. L. V. Rinonapoli, *Lamia e Lilith nelle leggende greche e semitiche* (H. Steuding). C. Michel,

Recueil d'inscriptions grecques iv, 1-3 (O. Schulthess), very favourable. Omero, *L'Iliade commentata* da C. O. Zuretti, II. Libri V.-VII. (C. Rothe), favourable. *Q. Ennio, I frammenti degli Annali*, ed. da L. Valmaggia (J. Tolkiehn). 'Indispensable.' P. H. Damsté, *Emendandi artis vindicatio Ictonibus Vergilianis illustrata* (H. Winther). 'To be recommended to all friends of Virgil.'

5 Dec. R. Helbing, *Der Instrumentalis bei Herodot* (H. Kallenberg), favourable. P. Martinon, *Sophocle, Œdipe Roi*, traduit en vers (H. Morsch). O. Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (O. Weissenfels). 'Shows thorough knowledge and sound method.' H. Scheffczyk, *Über den logischen Aufbau der dritten olympischen Rede des Demosthenes* (E. Rosenberg), favourable. *Sallustius Catilina und Auswahl aus dem Jugurtha*, herausg. von P. Klimek. Kommentar (T. Opitz), favourable. F. Haider, *Bemerkungen zu den Tragödien des Seneca* (W. Gemoll), very favourable. C. Weichardt, *Das Schloss des Tiberius auf Capri*, very favourable.

12 Dec. L. Deubner, *De incubatione* (W. H. Roscher). 'An excellent piece of work.' A. Wiedemann, *Die Toten und ihre Riche im Glauben der alten Ägypter* (J. V. Prásek), favourable. Th. Plüss, *Aberglaube und Religion in Sophokles' Elektra* (H. Steuding), favourable on the whole. E. Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* (H. Steuding), favourable. O. Alberts, *Aristotelische Philosophie in der türkischen Literatur des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Neue Folge (A. Döring). A. Gudeman, *Latin literature of the empire*. I. Prose (T. Opitz), favourable. F. Lohr, *Ein Gang durch die Ruinen Roms* (A. Hock), very favourable.

19 Dec. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*. 2. Reihe, 2. Band (Jensen). A. Ludwig, *Der Karer Pigres und sein Tierrepos Batrachomachia*.

Die byzantinischen Odysseus-Legenden (C. Haebelin). 'Contributes essentially to the solution of difficulties.' *Sallustius* ekl. von F. Hoffmann (T. Opitz), favourable on the whole. F. Beck, *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans* (R. Helm). 'A careful investigation.'

26 Dec. R. Caton, *The temples and ritual of Asklepios* (M. Maas), favourable. F. Garofalo, *Su 'gli Helvetii'*. 2. ed. (H. Meusel), favourable. *Statii Silvae*, Krohni copius usus ed. A. Klotz (P. Kerckhoff), favourable on the whole.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 24. Part 3. July 1900.

Specimen commentarii critici et exegetici ex fontibus hausti ad Oracula Chaldaica, A. Jahnus. Cicero, *De Domo* § 76, L. Duvau. Proposes emendanda for the corrupt emendanda [see last no.]. *Sur Propere* I. 8. 9-16, A. Cartault. The different moods of *auferet* and *patitur* show there is something wrong in the traditional text, so 13-14 are to be put after 9-10. *Une correction au texte du Banquet de Platon* (209 B). L. Parmentier. Reads τούτων αὐτῶν τις ἐκ νέου ἐγκύμων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἡκούσης τῆς ἡλικίας τίκεν τε καὶ γεννᾷν ἥδη ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἡρεῖ δὴ κ.τ.λ. *Les lois métriques de la prose latine*, H. Bornecque. Certain metrical laws are here stated and exemplified from Pliny's *Panegyricus* where metrical laws are applied with almost monotonous regularity. *Un passage d'Euclide mal interprété*, L. Laloy. Gives the explanation of a passage in the introduction to the *Κατάσκη κανόνος* in K. von Jan's ed. of the *Musici Graeci*. Cicero, *De Domo* § 52, P. Graindor. Reads *Roma* *tede* cessisset and for *tede* suggests the abbreviation *ex dec.* *Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen*, B. Haussoullier. On the early history of the temple B.C. 334-189 and on that of Miletus (which bore the cost of building) during the same period. *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore* (ii), V. Mortet. Notes and corrections relating to the *De Geometria*.

Vol. 24. Part 4. Oct.

Quelques passages de Phèdre, L. Havet. Various emendations. *Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen* (II.), B. Haussoullier. The nineteen years of Antiochus Soter were a difficult period for the finances of Miletus and its temple. Of Didyma we only know that a statue was there erected to Philotera, the sister of Philadelphus, but we do not know the occasion of its erection. An appendix on the title Soter. *Chronologie des œuvres de Saint Cyprien et des conciles africains du temps*, P. Monceaux. Contains a chronological table of the Councils of Carthage in the time of St. Cyprian, and another of his works.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 5. Part 4, 1900.

Die Vulgärsprache der attischen Fluchtafeln, E. Schwyzler. About 240 of these have been discovered in grave-chambers which almost all belong to the third cent. B.C. An examination of the language shows that in spite of many variations from the classical standard it still remains essentially Attic. *Das historische Relief der römischen Kaiserzeit*, F. Koepp. While Wickhoff overpraises Roman art, Courbaud is mistaken in maintaining that Roman art derives its merit only from the union of the historical realism of Pergamus with the realistic painting of Alexandria, because no sharp distinction can be drawn between the art of Pergamus and that of Alexandria. The Roman influence upon art depended more on the taste of the patron than on the artist. It was only in architecture, not in painting or sculpture, that Rome could vie with Greece. *Ein locus*

desperatissimus aus Ciceros Briefen, L. Gurlitt. In *ad Att.* XV. 26. 4. reads *Octavam partem Tul- <lian> i luminar<is> um mediam, ad s<in>is<is> tram, meminervis, cum Caecellia <m> videris, mancipio dare etc.* A reply by F. Knoke and a rejoinder by C. Schuchhardt upon the Roman marsh-bridges in Germany and the camp of Varus in the Habichtswald.

Part 5. *Die religiöse Architektur der Westgriechen*, A. Holm. Written with reference to the great work of Koldewey and Puchstein upon the temples of Lower Italy and Sicily. The temples here far exceed in number and originality those in all other Greek countries. Agragias alone shows the ruins of ten temples. Especially do they contribute to the history of the Doric style, the breadth of the triglyphs being of importance for deciding the age of a Doric temple. *L. Cincius Alimentus und die historische Kritik*, L. Cohn. Rejects the prevailing opinion that there were two men of this name, the elder an historian and the younger a grammarian, and attributes all the fragments that we possess to the historian of the Hannibalian war. Mommsen's assumption that the historian is a personality first discovered 200 years after his death or perhaps quite apocryphal is put aside. There are reviews of Usener's *Die Sinfut-sagen* (O. Immisch) and Schulten's *Das römische Afrika* (J. Ilberg).

Part 6/7. *Die Apologie des Xenophon*, I. M. Wetzel, against Wilamowitz, maintains the authorship of Xenophon and accounts for the present form. 2. O. Immisch maintains the genuineness from the linguistic point of view with special reference to the Ionisms of Xenophon. *Der Rhythmus bei den attischen Rednern*, F. Blass. Defends and develops his theory of rhythm in the Attic orators, comparing artistic prose to the dithyrambs of a Timotheus and Philoxenus, and shows under what conditions the rhythm can be an important help to the text-criticism. *Aus den Akten eines römischen Militärarchivs in Ägypten*, H. Blümner. Gives information about the pay of the soldiers and its application in the time of Domitian, and the duties of the soldiers in time of peace. *Strena Helbigiana*, W. Amelung. Contains 58 articles mostly archaeological.

Hermathena. No. 26. 1900.

Blaydes' Choephoroï, R. Ellis. *Two Notes on Eusebius*, H. J. Lawlor. *Some Notes on Cicero's Epistles from 57 to 54 B.C.*, L. C. Purser. *On the Fixed Alexandrine Year*, J. G. Smyly. *Some Observations on the Peace of Aristophanes*, J. B. Bury. *Observations on Dr. Merry's Odyssey*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *The Quasi-Caesura in Virgil*, P. Sandford. *The Identity of Ajax*, J. B. Bury. *The Thorician Stone*, J. B. Bury. *A New Theory of the Ekkyklema*, and *Two Short Notes*, C. Exon. *Notes on Aristotle, Parva Naturalia*, J. I. Beare. *Blaydes' Edition of the Agamemnon*, W. J. M. Starkie. *Considerations on the Cause and Regulating Principle of Variable and Common Quantity in Latin*, C. Exon.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxi, 3. Whole No. 83. 1900.

The Chthonic Gods of Greek Religion, A. Fairbanks. *Notes on Cicero's Use of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in si-Clauses*, H. C. Nutting. *De Jucque Adverbio*, G. H. Kirk. *A Papyrus Fragment of Iliad E.*, E. J. Goodspeed. *The Etymology of Σέβος*, G. M. Bolling.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. *Brugmann's Griechische Grammatik* (C. D. Buck), Smyth's *Greek Metric Poets* (E. H. Spieker), Weil and Reinach's *Plutarque περί Μουσικής* (C. W. L. Johnson).